John Arkwright.

[Richard Barton]

FARRAGO.

CONTAINING

ESSAYS,

MORAL, PHILOSOPHICAL, POLITICAL, *and* HISTORICAL:

ON

SHAKESPEARE,	GOVERNMENTS,
TRUTH,	POLITENESS,
BOXING,	ENNUI,
KINGS,	INGRATITUDE,
RELIGION,	FORTUNE,
COMMERCE,	POLITICS, &c. &c.

ABSTRACTS *and* SELECTIONS *on Various Subjects.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

Quidquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas
Gaudia, discursus, nostri est Farrago libelli. JUV.

PUBLISHED FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DISCHARGE AND RELIEF OF PERSONS IMPRISONED FOR SMALL DEBTS.

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THE

CONTENTS

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

ABSTRACT OF Mr. GIBBON'S HISTORY OF THE GOTHS AND VANDALS, &c.

	Page
View of the Provinces of the Roman Empire	1
Of the Goths and Vandals	21
Religion of the Goths	22
Death of Odin	23
Firſt Diviſion of the Roman Empire	52
Manners of the Scythians or Tartars	58
Second Diviſion of the Roman Empire	73
Rome beſieged and ſacked by Alaric	77
Venice founded	82
Death of Attila	83
Vandals ſack Rome	83
End of the Roman Empire	86
Deſcent of the Saxons into Britain	89

Of

Of the Sarracens —— 94
Of the Ancient Entrenchments 97

SELECTIONS FROM LES RECHERCHES PHILOSOPHIQUES, CONCERNING AMERICA.

Climate and its Effects —— 109
Of the Anthropophagi — 121
Of ſome extraordinary Cuſtoms 123
Of Poiſoned Arrows —— 141

OF THE EGYPTIANS AND THE CHINESE, TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

Population of the Chineſe —— 192
State of Painting and Sculpture in China and Egypt —— 204
Philoſophical Reflections concerning the Chineſe and Egyptians 219

HISTORY OF THE SPARTANS OR LACEDEMONIANS, TRANSLATED FROM LES RECHERCHES PHILOSOPHIQUES SUR LES GRECS —— 239
General Deſcription of Laconia 249
Of Laconia after its Conqueſt 265
Of the Cauſes of the Riſe and Fall of Sparta —— —— 271
Of the Riches and Avarice of the Spartans —— —— 278

Of

Of the Military Exploits of that People —— —— 293
Of the Empire of the Sea 304
Of the Spartan Women — 311
Of the Military Education of the Spartans —— —— 327
Of the Character of the Spartans 341
Of the Public Repaſts of the Spartans 358
Of the interior State of the City of Lacedemon ——— 365
Of the Government of the Spartans 378
Analyſis of the Government 386
Of the Spartan Colonies 396
Of the Political Diſſolution of Sparta 403
Of the Hiſtory and Manners of the Mainotes —— —— 412

ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Page 92, l. 22, r. has
184, l. 20, r. ſcene
224, l. 20, r, when they

VOL. II.

Page 54, l. 9, r. liberty
128, l. 5, r. grain
137, l. 2, r. couvade
138, l. 17, r. their
146, l. 1, r. for the poiſon
——l. 2, r. but when
248, l. 4, r. excite
249, bottom line, r. Argolis
272, l. 9, r. Epaminondas
298, l. 15, r. Lacedemon
309, l. 7, r. the ports beſt
360, l. 4, r. it is
362, l. 14, r, Ariſtotle
366, l. 12, r. whither
369, l. 5. r. which
386, l. 9. r. energetic
388, l. 16, r. was—defect
421, l. 22, r. Cacovougnis

HISTORY

OF THE

ENTERPRIZES AND *SETTLEMENTS*

OF THE

GOTHS, VANDALS,

AND OTHER

BARBARIAN NATIONS.

HISTORY

OF THE

INVASIONS AND SETTLEMENTS

OF THE

GOTHS, VANDALS,

AND OTHER

BARBARIAN NATIONS.

The HISTORY *of*

The Enterprizes of the different Barbarian nations who invaded, and at length overturned the vaſt Roman empire, and fixed themſelves in all parts of Europe, is very intereſting; both as theſe men were our anceſtors, in a great degree, and as they produced a wonderful revolution in our quarter of the globe. This Hiſtory was never ſo well digeſted and brought into one point of view, as by Mr. Gibbon; *we have therefore made an Abridgement of what particularly relates to it, from his elegant* Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

The outlines of the extent of the Roman Empire, and the ſituatian of its different diviſions, is ſo much connected with the ſubject, it was thought neceſſary to take notice of them.

fills the place of the warlike Luſitanians. The confines of Grenada and Andaluſia correſpond with thoſe of the ancient Bætica. The remainder contributed to form the third and moſt conſiderable of the Roman governments.

GAUL.

Ancient Gaul, as it contained the whole country between the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rhine, and the Ocean, was of greater extent than modern France. To the dominions of that monarchy, with its recent acquiſitions of Lorrain and Alſace, we muſt add the dutchy of Savoy, the cantons of Switzerland, the four electorates of the Rhine, and the territories of Liege, Luxemburgh, Hainault,

Sixteen were ſtationed on the Danube and Rhine:

2 Lower Germany,
3 Upper Germany.
1 Rhætia.
1 Noricum.
4 Pannonia.
3 Mæſia.
2 Dacia.

The defence of the Euphrates was committed to eight legions:

6 Syria.
2 Cappadocia.

One

nault, Flanders, and Brabant. Under the reign of the Antonines, Gaul was divided into ſix provinces; the ſea-coaſt of the Mediterranean, Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphine, formed the Narbonneſe; from the Pyrenees to the Loire, Aquitaine; between the Loire and the Seine, was ſtyled the Celtic Gaul, and ſince, Lyons; that which lay beyond the Seine, and which had anciently been bounded by the Rhine, Belgic; the Gallic frontier of the Rhine, from Baſil to Leyden, Upper and Lower Germanies.

BRITAIN.

The boundaries of the Roman province in this iſland, comprehended all England, Wales, and the Lowlands of Scotland, as far

1 Spain.
1 Ægypt.
1 Africa.
3 Britain.

The legion was a body of ſix thouſand eight hundred and thirty-one Romans, which, with its attendant auxiliaries, might amount to twelve thouſand five hundred men.

The City Cohorts and Prætorian Bands were about twenty thouſand, for the defence of the monarch and the capital.

The

far as the Firths of Dunbarton and Edinburgh. Before Britain loſt her freedom, the country was irregularly divided between thirty tribes of Barbarians, the moſt conſiderable of whom were the Belgæ in the Weſt, the Brigantes in the North, the Silures in South-Wales, and the Iceni in Norfolk and Suffolk. As far as the reſemblance of manners and language may be credited, Spain, Gaul, and Britain were peopled by the ſame hardy race of ſavages. This province conſtituted the weſtern diviſion of the European provinces, which extended from the columns of Hercules to the wall of Antoninus, and from the mouth of the Tagus, to the ſources of the Rhine and Danube.

ITALY.

The whole military force, including the navy, may be computed to amount to four hundred and fifty thouſand, which is no more than France, a ſingle province of the Roman empire, has maintained at one time, in the reign of Louis XIV.

The legion conſiſted of ten cohorts, and fifty-five companies; with a correſpondent number of centurions and tribunes.

The firſt cohort was of heavy-armed infantry, conſiſting of one thouſand one hundred and five, which always claimed the poſt of honour, and had the care of the eagle. Nine others at five hundred and fifty-five each, and ten troops of horſe; the firſt troop one hundred and thirty-two, and nine others at ſixty-ſix each.

ITALY.

Before the Roman conqueſt, the country which is now called Lombardy, was not conſidered as a part of Italy. A colony of Gauls, ſettling on the banks of the Po, from Piedmont to Romagna, carried their arms from the Alps to the Appenines. The Ligurians dwelt on the rocky coaſt, which now forms the republic of Genoa. The territories of Venice were inhabited by the Veneti, probably of Illyrian origin. The dutchy of Tuſcany and the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, was the ancient ſeat of the Etruſcans and Umbrians. The Tyber rolled at the foot of the ſeven hills of Rome, and the country of the Sabines, the Latins, and the Volſci, from that river to the frontiers of Naples, was the theatre of her infant victories. Capua and Campania poſſeſſed the immediate territory of Naples; the reſt of the kingdom contained the Marſi, Samnites, Apulians, and Lucanians: on the ſea-coaſts were flouriſhing colonies of the Greeks. We may remark, that when Auguſtus divided Italy into eleven regions, the little province of Iſtria was annexed to that ſeat of Roman ſovereignty.

DANUBE *and* ILLYRIAN *Frontier.*

The European provinces were protected by the courſe of the Rhine and the Danube. The latter riſes only at thirty miles diſtance from the Rhine, flows above thirteen hundred miles, for the moſt part, to the ſouth-eaſt, collects the tribute of ſixty navigable rivers, and is, at length, through ſix mouths, received into the Euxine. Theſe provinces ſoon acquired the general appellation of Illyricum, and was eſteemed the moſt warlike of the empire; containing Rhætia, Pannonia, Noricum, Dalmatia, Dacia, Mæſia, Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece.

The province of Rhætia, which ſoon extinguiſhed the name of the Vindelicians, extended from the ſummit of the Alps to the banks of the Danube; from its ſource, as far as its conflux with the Inn. The greateſt part of the flat country is ſubject to the elector of Bavaria; the city of Augſburg is protected by the conſtitution of the German empire; the Griſons are ſafe in their mountains, and the Tirol belongs to the houſe of Auſtria.

NORICUM.

NORICUM *and* PANNONIA.

The wide range of this province is extended between the Inn, the Danube and the Save; Auſtria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, the Lower Hungary and Sclavonia, were known to the ancients under the names of Noricum and Pannonia. Under the Roman government they were frequently united with each other, and they ſtill remain the patrimony of a ſingle family. They now contain the reſidence of the emperor; and if we except Bohemia, Moravia, the northern ſkirts of Auſtria, and a part of Hungary, between the Teyſs and the Danube, all the other dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria are comprized in this province of the Roman empire.

DALMATIA.

The name of Illyrica more properly belonged to this province, it being a narrow tract between the Save and the Adriatic. The beſt part of the ſea-coaſt, ſtill retains its ancient appellation, is a province of the Venetian ſtate, and the ſeat of the little republic of Raguſa. The inland parts have aſſumed the Sclavonian names of Croatia and Boſnia; the former obeys an Auſtrian governor, the latter

latter a Turkiſh pacha: the whole are barbarians, whoſe ſavage independence irregularly marks the doubtful limits of the Chriſtian and Mahometan power.

MÆSIA *and* DACIA.

After the Danube had received the waters of the Teyſs and the Save, it acquired, at leaſt, among the Greeks, the name of Iſter. It formerly divided Mæſia and Dacia, the latter of which, was a conqueſt of Trajan, and the only province beyond the river. In their preſent ſtate, Temeſwar and Tranſylvania have been annexed to the crown of Hungary, on the left of the Danube; whilſt the principalities of Moldavia and Walachia acknowledge the ſupremacy of the Turk. On the right hand of the Danube, Mæſia, which, during the middle ages, was broken into the barbarian kingdoms of Servia and Bulgaria, is again united in Turkiſh ſlavery.

THRACE, MACEDONIA, *and* GREECE.

The appellation of Roumelia, which is ſtill beſtowed by the Turks on the extenſive countries of Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, preſerves the memory of their ancient

cient ſtate under the Roman empire. In the time of the Antonines, the martial regions of Thrace, from the mountains of Hæmus and Rhodope, to the Boſphorus and the Helleſpont, had aſſumed the name of a Province. The new city of Rome, founded by Conſtantine on the banks of the Boſphorus, has ever ſince remained the capital of a great monarchy. The kingdom of Macedonia, which under the reign of Alexander, gave laws to Aſia, derived more ſolid advantages from the policy of the two Philips; and with its dependencies of Epirus and Theſſaly, extended from the Ægean to the Ionian ſea. When we reflect on the fame of Thebes and Argos, of Sparta and Athens, we can ſcarcely perſuade ourſelves, that ſo many immortal republics of ancient Greece were loſt in a ſingle province of the Roman empire, which, from the ſuperior influence of the Achæan league, was uſually denominated the province of Achaia.

Asia Minor.

Such was the ſtate of Europe under the Roman emperors. The provinces of Aſia, without excepting the tranſient conqueſts of Trajan, are all comprehended within the limits of the Turkiſh power. But, inſtead of following

following the arbitrary diviſions of deſpotiſm, we will obſerve the indelible characters of nature. The name of Aſia Minor is attributed with ſome propriety to the peninſula, which, confined between the Euxine and the Mediterranean, advances from the Euphrates towards Europe. The moſt extenſive and flouriſhing diſtrict, weſtward of mount Taurus and the river Halys, was dignified by the Romans with the excluſive title of Aſia. The juriſdiction of that province extended over the ancient monarchies of Troy, Lydia, and Phrygia, the maritime countries of the Pamphylians, Lycians, and Carians, and the Grecian colonies of Ionia, which equalled in arts, though not in arms, the glory of their parent. The kingdoms of Bithynia and Pontus poſſeſſed the northern ſide, the province of Cilicia was terminated by the mountains of Syria: the inland country, ſeperated from the Roman Aſia by the river Halys, and from Armenia, by the Euphrates, had once formed the independent kingdom of Cappadocia. The northern ſhores of the Euxine, beyond Trebiſond in Aſia, and beyond the Danube in Europe, acknowledged the ſovereignty of the emperors, and received at their hands, either tributary princes

ces or Roman garriſons. Budzak, Crim Tartary, Circaſſia, and Mingrelia, are the modern appellations of thoſe ſavage countries.

SYRIA, PHŒNICIA, *and* PALESTINE.

Under the ſucceſſors of Alexander, Syria was the ſeat of the Seleucidæ, who reigned over Upper Aſia, till the ſucceſsful revolt of the Parthians confined their dominions between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean. When Syria became ſubject to the Romans, it formed the eaſtern frontier of their empire; nor did that province, in its utmoſt latitude, know any other bounds than the mountains of Cappadocia to the north, and towards the ſouth the confines of Egypt and the Red Sea. Phœnicia and Paleſtine were ſometimes annexed to, and ſometimes ſeperated from, the jurisdiction of Syria. The former of theſe was a narrow and rocky coaſt; the latter was a territory ſcarcely ſuperior to Wales, either in fertility or extent. A ſandy deſert alike deſtitute of wood and water ſkirts along the doubtful confine of Syria, from the Euphrates to the Red Sea. The wandering life of the Arabs was inſeperably connected with their independence; and wherever, on ſome ſpots leſs barren

barren than the reſt, they ventured to form any ſettled habitation, they ſoon became ſubjects of the Roman empire.

EGYPT.

The geographers of antiquity have frequently heſitated to what portion of the globe they ſhould aſcribe Egypt. By its ſituation that celebrated kingdom is included within the immenſe peninſula of Africa; but it is acceſſible only on the ſide of Aſia, whoſe revolutions, in almoſt every period of hiſtory, Egypt has humbly obeyed. A Roman præfect was ſeated on the ſplendid throne of the Ptolemies; and the iron ſceptre of the Mamalukes is now in the hands of a Turkiſh pacha. The Nile flows down the country, above five hundred miles from the tropic of Cancer to the Mediterranean, and marks, on either ſide, the extent of fertility by the meaſure of its inundations. Cyrene, ſituate towards the weſt, and along the ſea-coaſt, was firſt a Greek colony, afterwards a province of Egypt, and is now loſt in the deſert of Barca.

AFRICA.

From Cyrene to the ocean, the coaſt of Africa

Africa extends above fifteen hundred miles; yet ſo cloſely is it preſſed between the Mediterranean and the Sahara, or ſandy deſert, that its breadth ſeldom exceeds fourſcore or an hundred miles. The eaſtern diviſion was conſidered by the Romans as the more peculiar and proper province of Africa. Till the arrival of the Phœnician colonies, that fertile country was inhabited by the Libyans, the moſt ſavage of mankind. Under the immediate juriſdiction of Carthage, it became the centre of commerce and empire; but the republic of Carthage is now degenerated into the feeble and diſorderly ſtates of Tripoli and Tunis. The military government of Algiers oppreſſes the wide extent of Numidia, as it was once united under Maſſiniſſa and Jugurtha: but in the time of Auguſtus, the limits of Numidia were contracted; and, at leaſt, two thirds of the country acquieſced in the name of Mauritania, with the epithet of Cæſarienſis. The genuine Mauritania, or country of the Moors, which, from the ancient city of Tingi, or Tangier, was diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Tingitana, is repreſented by the modern kingdom of Fez. Sallee, on the ocean, ſo infamous at preſent for its piratical depredations, was noticed

by the Romans as the extreme object of their power, and almoſt of their geography. A city of their founding may ſtill be diſcovered near Mequinez, the reſidence of the barbarian whom we condeſcend to ſtyle the emperor of Morocco; but it does not appear, that his more ſouthern dominions, Morocco itſelf, and Segelmeſſa, were ever comprehended within the Roman empire. The weſtern parts of Africa were interſected by the branches of mount Atlas, a name ſo idly celebrated by the fancy of poets; but which is now diffuſed over the immenſe ocean that rolls between the ancient and the new continent.

The MEDITERRANEAN, *with its Iſlands.*

Having now finiſhed the circuit of the Roman empire, we may obſerve, that Africa is divided from Spain by a narrow ſtrait of about twelve miles, through which the Atlantic flows into the Mediterranean. The columns of Hercules, ſo famous among the ancients, were two mountains which ſeem to have been torn aſunder by ſome convulſion of the elements; at the foot of the European mountain, the fortreſs of Gibraltar is now ſeated: the mountain in Africa is called Ape's

Ape's hill. The whole extent of the Mediterranean ſea, its coaſts, and its iſlands, were compriſed within the Roman dominion. Of the larger iſlands, the two Baleares, which derive their names of Majorca and Minorca from their reſpective ſize, Corſica and Sicily, are of the greateſt conſequence. Crete, or Candia, with Cyprus, and moſt of the ſmaller iſlands of Greece and Aſia, have been ſubdued by the Turkiſh arms; whilſt the little rock of Malta defies their power, and has emerged, under the government of its military order, into fame and opulence.

General Idea of the extent of the ROMAN EMPIRE.

This long enumeration of provinces, whoſe broken fragments have formed ſo many powerful kingdoms, might almoſt induce us to forgive the vanity or ignorance of the ancients. Dazzled with the extenſive ſway, the irreſiſtible ſtrength, and the real or affected moderation of the emperors, they permitted themſelves to deſpiſe, and ſometimes to forget, the out-lying countries, which had been left in the enjoyment of a barbarous independence; and they

they gradually uſurped the licence of confounding the Roman monarchy with the globe of the earth. But the temper, as well as knowledge, of a modern hiſtorian, require a more ſober and accurate language. He may impreſs a juſter image of the greatneſs of Rome, by obſerving that the empire was above two thouſand miles in breadth, from the wall of Antoninus and the northern limits of Dacia, to mount Atlas, and the tropic of Cancer; that it extended, in length, more than three thouſand miles from the Weſtern Ocean to the Euphrates; that it was ſituated in the fineſt part of the Temperate Zone, between the twenty-fourth and fifty-ſixth degrees of northern latitude; and that it was ſuppoſed to contain above ſixteen hundred thouſand ſquare miles, for the moſt part of fertile and well cultivated land.

OF THE

GOTHS AND VANDALS.

ON the faith of ancient ſongs, the uncertain, but the only, memorials of barbarians, the firſt origin of the Goths, is deduced from the vaſt iſland, or peninſula, of Scandinavia. Many veſtiges, which cannot be aſcribed to the arts of popular vanity, atteſt the ancient reſidence of the Goths in the countries beyond the Baltic. From the time of the geographer Ptolemy, the ſouthern part of Sweden, ſeems to have continued in the poſſeſſion of the leſs enterprizing remnant of the nation, and a large territory is at preſent divided into eaſt and weſt Gothland. During the middle ages (from the ninth to the twelfth century) whilſt Chriſtianity

anity was advancing with a ſlow progreſs into the north, the Goths and the Swedes compoſed two diſtinct and ſometimes hoſtile members of the ſame monarchy. The latter of theſe two names has prevailed without extinguiſhing the former. The Swedes, who might well be ſatisfied with their own fame in arms, have, in every age, claimed the kindred glory of the Goths. In a moment of diſcontent againſt the court of Rome, Charles the Twelfth inſinuated, that his victorious troops were not degenerated from their brave anceſtors, who had already ſubdued the miſtreſs of the world.

Religion of the GOTHS.

Till the eleventh century, a celebrated temple ſubſiſted at Upſal, the moſt conſiderable town of the Swedes and Goths. It was enriched with the gold which the Scandinavians had acquired in their piratical adventures, and ſanctified by the uncouth repreſentations of the three principal deities, the god of war, the goddeſs of generation, and the god of thunder. In the general feſtival, that was celebrated every ninth year, nine animals of every ſpecies (without excepting the human) were ſacrificed, and their bleeding bodies ſuſpended

ſuſpended in the ſacred grove adjacent to the temple. The only traces that now ſubſiſt of this barbaric ſuperſtition, are contained in the Edda, a ſyſtem of mythology, compoſed in Iceland about the thirteenth century, and ſtudied by the learned of Denmark and Sweden, as the moſt valuable remains of their ancient traditions

Inſtitutions and Death of ODIN.

Notwithſtanding the myſterious obſcurity of the Edda, we can eaſily diſtinguiſh two perſons confounded under the name of Odin; the god of war, and the great legiſlator of Scandinavia. The latter, the Mahomet of the north, inſtituted a religion adapted to the climate, and to the people. Numerous tribes on either ſide of the Baltic were ſubdued by the invincible valour of Odin, by his perſuaſive eloquence, and by the fame which he acquired, of a moſt ſkilful magician. The faith that he had propagated, during a long and proſperous life, he confirmed by a voluntary death. Apprehenſive of the ignominious approach of diſeaſe and infirmity he reſolved to expire as became a warrior. In a ſolemn aſſembly of the Swedes and Goths, he wounded himſelf in nine mortal places, haſtening away (as he aſſerted with his

his dying voice) to prepare the feaſt of heroes in the palace of the god of war.

Agreeable but uncertain Hypotheſis concerning ODIN.

The native and proper habitation of Odin is diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of As-gard. The happy reſemblance of that name with As-burg, or As-of, words of a ſimilar ſignification, has given riſe to an hiſtorical ſyſtem of ſo pleaſing a contexture, that we could almoſt wiſh to perſuade ourſelves of its truth. It is ſuppoſed that Odin was the chief of a tribe of barbarians which dwelt on the banks of the lake Mæotis, till the fall of Mithridates and the arms of Pompey menaced the north with ſervitude. That Odin, yielding with indignant fury to a power which he was unable to reſiſt, conducted his tribe from

According to the obvious ſenſe of the Edda, and the interpretation of the moſt ſkilful critics, As-gard, inſtead of denoting a real city of the Aſiatic Sarmatia, is the fictitious appellation of the myſtic abode of the gods, the Olympus of Scandinavia; from whence the prophet was ſuppoſed to deſcend, when he announced his new religion to the Gothic nations, who were already ſeated in the ſouthern parts of Sweden.

the

the frontiers of the Aſiatic Sarmatia into Sweden, with the great deſign of forming, in that inacceſſible retreat of freedom, a religion and a people, which, in ſome remote age, might be ſubſervient to his immortal revenge; and when his invincible Goths, armed with martial fanaticiſm, ſhould iſſue in ſwarms from the neighbourhood of the Polar circle to chaſtiſe the oppreſſors of mankind.

Emigration of the GOTHS *from* SCANDINAVIA *into* PRUSSIA.

If ſo many ſucceſſive generations of Goths were capable of preſerving a faint tradition only of their Scandinavian origin, we muſt not expect, from ſuch unlettered barbarians, any diſtinct account of the time and circumſtances of their emigration. To croſs the Baltic was an eaſy and natural attempt. The inhabitants of Sweden were maſters of a ſufficient number of large veſſels, with oars, and the diſtance is little more than one hundred miles from Carlſcroon to the neareſt ports of Pomerania and Pruſſia. Here, at length, we land on firm and hiſtoric ground. At leaſt as early as the Chriſtian era, and as late as the age of the Antonines, the Goths were eſtabliſhed towards the north of the Viſtula, and

in that fertile province, where the commercial cities of Thorn, Elbing, Koningſberg, and Dantzick, were long afterwards founded.

VANDALS.

Weſtward of the Goths, the numerous tribes of the Vandals were ſpread along the banks of the Oder, and the ſea-coaſts of Pomerania and Mecklenburgh. A ſtriking reſemblance of manners, complexion, religion, and language, ſeemed to indicate that the Vandals and the Goths were one great people. The latter appear to have been ſubdivided into Oſtrogoths, Viſigoths, and Gepidæ. The diſtinction among the Vandals was more ſtrongly marked by the independent names of Heruli, Burgundians, Lombards, and a variety of other petty ſtates, many of which, in a future age, expanded themſelves into powerful monarchies.

From

The Oſtro and Viſi, the eaſtern and weſtern Goths obtained thoſe denominations from their original ſeats in Scandinavia. In all their future marches and ſettlements they preſerved, with their names, the ſame relative ſituation. When they firſt departed from Sweden, the infant colony was contained in three veſſels. The third being a heavy ſailor lagged behind, and the crew, which afterwards ſwelled into a nation, received from that circumſtance the appellation of Gepidæ or Loiterers.

From PRUSSIA *to the* UKRAINE.

In the age of the Antonines, the Goths were ſtill ſeated in Pruſſia. About the reign of Alexander Severus, the Roman province of Dacia had experienced their proximity by frequent and deſtructive inroads. In this interval therefore of about ſeventy years, we muſt place the ſecond migration of the Goths from the Baltic to the Euxine; but the cauſe that produced it lies concealed among the various motives which actuate the conduct of unſettled barbarians. Either a peſtilence or a famine, a victory, or a defeat, an oracle of the Gods, or the eloquence of a daring leader, were ſufficient to impel the Gothic arms on the milder climates of the ſouth. Beſides the influence of a martial religion, the ſtrength and ſpirit of the Goths, were equal to the moſt dangerous adventures. The uſe of round bucklers and ſhort ſwords rendered them formidable in a cloſe engagement; the manly obedience which they yielded to hereditary kings, gave uncommon union and ſtability to their councils; and the renowned Amala, the hero of that age, and the tenth anceſtor of Theodoric, king of Italy, enforced, by the aſcendant of perſonal merit, the

the prerogative of his birth, which he derived from the Anſes, or demi gods of the Gothic nation.

Increaſe of the GOTHS *in their March.*

The fame of a great enterpriſe excited the braveſt warriors of all the Vandalic ſtates of Germany, many of whom are ſeen a few years afterwards combating under the common ſtandard of the Goths. The firſt motions of the emigrants carried them to the banks of the Prypec, a river univerſally conceived by the ancients to be the ſouthern branch of the Boryſthenes. The windings of that great ſtream through the plains of Poland and Ruſſia, gave a direction to their line of march, and a conſtant ſupply of freſh water and paſturage to their numerous herds of cattle. The Baſternæ and Venedi were the firſt who preſented themſelves; and the flower of their youth, either from choice or compulſion, increaſed the Gothic army. The Baſternæ dwelt on the northern ſide of the Carpathian mountains; the immenſe tract of land that ſeparated them from the ſavages of Finland, was poſſeſſed, or rather waſted, by the Venedi: we have ſome reaſon to believe that the firſt of theſe nations,

tions, which diſtinguiſhed itſelf in the Macedonian war, and was afterwards divided into the formidable tribes of the Peucini, the Borani, the Carpi, &c. derived its origin from the Germans. With better authority, a Sarmatian extraction may be aſſigned to the Venedi, who rendered themſelves ſo famous in the middle ages. But the confuſion of blood and manners on that doubtful frontier often perplexed the moſt accurate obſervers.

Diſtinction of GERMANS, *and* SARMATIANS.

As the Goths advanced nearer the Euxine ſea, they encountered a purer race of Sarmatians, the Jazyges, the Alani, and the Roxolani; and they were probably the firſt Germans who ſaw the mouths of the Boryſthenes, and the Tanais. If we inquire into the characteriſtic marks of the people of Germany and of Sarmatia, we ſhall diſcover that thoſe two great portions of human kind were principally diſtinguiſhed by fixed huts or moveable tents, by a cloſe dreſs, or flowing garments, by the marriage of one or ſeveral wives, by a military force, conſiſting, for the moſt part, either of infantry or cavalry; and above all by the uſe of the Teutonic,

tonic, or the Sclavonian language; the laſt of which has been diffuſed by conqueſt, from the confines of Italy to the neighbourhood of Japan.

Deſcription of the UKRAINE.

The Ukraine is of conſiderable extent and uncommon fertility, interſected with navigable rivers, which, from either ſide, diſcharge themſelves into the Boryſthenes; interſperſed with large and lofty foreſts of oak. The plenty of game and fiſh, the innumerable bee-hives, depoſited in the hollows of old trees, and in the cavities of rocks, forming in that rude age, a valuable branch of commerce, the ſize of the cattle, the temperature of the air, the aptneſs of the ſoil for every ſpecies of grain, and the luxuriancy of the vegetation, all diſplayed the liberality of Nature, and tempted the induſtry of man. But the Goths withſtood all theſe temptations, and ſtill adhered to a life of idleneſs, of poverty, and rapine.

The GOTHS *invade the Roman Provinces.*

The Scythian hords, which, toward the eaſt, bordered on the new ſettlements of the Goths, preſented nothing to their arms, except

except the doubtful chance of an unprofitable victory. But the proſpect of the Roman territories, and the fields of Dacia covered with rich harveſts, were alluring. The new and unſettled province of Dacia, the conqueſt of Trajan, maintained by his ſucceſſors from ideal dignity, rather than uſe, was neither ſtrong enough to reſiſt, nor rich enough to ſatiate the rapaciouſneſs of the barbarians. The remote banks of the Neiſter being conſidered as the boundary of the Roman power, the fortifications of the lower Danube were more careleſsly guarded, and the inhabitants of Mæſia lived in ſuppineſs, fondly believing themſelves at an inacceſſible diſtance from any barbarian invaders. The irruption of the Goths, under the reign of Philip, fatally convinced them of their miſtake. The king, or leader of that fierce nation, traverſed with contempt the province of Dacia, and paſſed both the Neiſter and the Danube without any oppoſition capable of retarding his progreſs. The relaxed diſcipline of the Roman troops betrayed the moſt important poſts, and the fear of puniſhment induced great numbers of them to inliſt under the Gothic ſtandard. The various multitudes of barbarians appeared, at length, under

der the walls of Marcianopolis, a city built by Trajan in honour of his ſiſter, and at that time the capital of the ſecond Mæſia. The inhabitants conſented to ranſom their lives and properties, by the payment of a large ſum of money, and the invaders retreated back into their deſerts, animated, rather than ſatisfied, with the firſt ſucceſs of their arms againſt an opulent but feeble country. Intelligence was ſoon tranſmitted to the emperor Decius, that Cniva, king of the Goths, had paſſed the Danube a ſecond time, with more conſiderable forces; that his numerous detachments ſcattered devaſtation over the province of Mæſia, whilſt the main body of the army, conſiſting of ſeventy thouſand Germans and Sarmatians, a force equal to the moſt daring atchievements, required the preſence of the Roman monarch, and the exertion of his military power.

GOTHIC WAR. *A. D.* 250.

Decius found the Goths engaged before Nicopolis, now called Nicop, on the Jatrus, one of the many monuments of Trajan's victories. On his approach they raiſed the ſiege, but with a deſign only of marching

ing away to a conqueſt of greater importance, the ſiege of Philippopolis, a city of Thrace, founded by the father of Alexander, near the foot of mount Hæmus. The emperor Decius followed them through a difficult country, and by forced marches; but when he imagined himſelf at a conſiderable diſtance from the rear of the Goths, Cniva turned with a rapid fury on his purſuers. The camp of the Romans was ſurprized and pillaged, and, for the firſt time, their emperor fled in diſorder before a troop of half-armed barbarians. Philippopolis was taken by ſtorm; and it is ſaid that an hundred thouſand perſons were maſſacred in the ſack of that great city. Many priſoners became an acceſſion to the ſpoil; among whom Priſcus, a brother of the late emperor Philip, bluſhed not to aſſume the purple under the protection of the barbarous enemies of Rome.

Decius intercepted ſeveral parties of the Carpi, and other Germans, whowere haſtening to ſhare the victory of their countrymen, and by a full exertion of his valour and judicious conduct, by the next year, the Goths were on every ſide purſued and ſurrounded by the Romans, and they would gladly have purcha-

ſed an undiſturbed retreat, by the ſurrender of their booty and priſoners. But the emperor, confident of ſucceſs, reſolved, by chaſtiſement, to ſtrike a ſalutary terror into the barbarians. The conflict was terrible; and the ſucceſs would have been equal to the emperor's merit, if he could have been content with the defeat of the two firſt lines of the Goths; but the attack of the third, which was protected by a moraſs in its front, was attended with the defeat and death of the emperor. Early in the action, his ſon, a youth of the faireſt hopes, and already aſſociated to the honour of the purple, was ſlain by an arrow, in the ſight of his afflicted father. This fatal blow humbled for a little time the inſolence of the legions.

As this was the firſt action of great note, in which the barbarians had a determined ſuperiority, the relation has been attended with more circumſtances, than the nature of this contracted ſcheme will always allow.

A. D. 251.

The Goths were allowed by the emperor Gallus to retreat with their booty, many priſoners, and a ſtipulation for an annual payment

ment of a large ſum of gold, on a promiſe of never infeſting the Roman territories by ſuch excurſions.

Origin and confederacy of the FRANKS.

As the poſterity of the Franks compoſe one of the greateſt and moſt enlightened nations of Europe, great ingenuity has been exhauſted in the diſcovery of their unlettered anceſtors. It has been ſuppoſed, that Pannonia, that Gaul, that the northern parts of Germany, gave birth to that celebrated colony of warriors. At length the moſt rational critics have acquieſced in a ſentiment whoſe ſimplicity perſuades us of its truth.

They ſuppoſe, that about the year 240, a new confederacy was formed under the name of Franks, by the old inhabitants of the Lower Rhine and the Weſer. The preſent circle of Weſtphalia, the Landgraviate of Heſſe, and the dutchies of Brunſwic and Lunenberg, were the ancient ſeat of the Chauci, inacceſſible in their moraſſes; of the Cheruſci, proud of the fame of Arminius; of the Catti, and ſeveral other tribes of inferior power. The love of liberty was the darling paſſion of the Germans; they deſerved, they aſſumed, they

they maintained the honourable epithet of Franks and Freemen. The Romans had often experienced their daring valour. The Rhine, though dignified with the title of Safeguard of the provinces, was an imperfect barrier to the daring ſpirit of enterprize of the Franks. From the river to the Pyrenees was a rapid conqueſt: they croſſed the mountains, and Spain was for twelve years, the greateſt part of the reign of Gallienus, the theatre of unequal and deſtructive hoſtilities. When this country was exhauſted, they ſeized on ſome veſſels in the ports of Spain, and paſſed over into Africa, and filled the diſtant province of Mauritania with aſtoniſhment.

The SUEVI.

In the upper part of Saxony beyond the Elbe, which is at preſent called the Marquiſate of Luſace, there exiſted, in ancient times, a ſacred wood, the awful ſeat of the ſuperſtition of the Suevi. Their wide extended name filled the interior countries of Germany, from the banks of the Oder to thoſe of the Danube. They were diſtinguiſhed from the other Germans by the peculiar mode of dreſſing their long hair, which they gathered

About the end of the fourth century.

in

in a rude knot on the crown of the head. Jealous, as the Germans were, of military fame, they all confeſſed their ſuperior valour.

ALEMANNI.

In the reign of the emperor Caracalla, an innumerable ſwarm of the Suevi appeared on the banks of the Mein, in the neighbourhood of the Roman provinces, in queſt of food, plunder, or glory. This army of volunteers, compoſed of many different tribes, aſſumed the name of Alemanni, or *All-men*; to denote at once their various lineage, and their common bravery. The Alemanni fought chiefly on horſeback; accompanied by the moſt active of their youth, who acted as light infantry, and by frequent exerciſe were enabled to keep up with them in the longeſt march, the moſt rapid charge, or the moſt precipitate retreat. They increaſed the diſorder that attended the defeat and death of Decius, by making inroads into Gaul, and at length penetrated acroſs the Danube, and through the Rhætian Alps, into the plains of Lombardy, advanced as far as Ravenna, and diſplayed their victorious banners almoſt within ſight of Rome. The emperor

emperor Valerian was at that time engaged in the eaſt, and Gallienus on the Rhine. The Senators at the head of the Prætorian guards, and ſuch an army as they could immediately get together, occaſioned them to retreat, laden with ſpoil. In another invaſion of them, it is ſaid that three hundred thouſand were defeated near Milan, by Gallienus, at the head of only ten thouſand Romans. Gallienus eſpouſed Pipa the daughter of a king of the Marcomanni, a Suevic tribe, and to the father he granted an ample ſettlement in the country of Pannonia. The haughty prejudice of Rome refuſed the name of marriage to this alliance.

Conqueſt of the BOSPHORUS *by the* GOTHS.

The Goths, in their new ſettlement of the Ukraine, ſoon became maſters of the northern coaſt of the Euxine. The banks of the Boryſthenes are only ſixty miles diſtant from the peninſula of Crim Tartary, known to the ancients by the name of Cherſoneſus Taurica. From the reign of Auguſtus, the kings of Boſphorus were the humble, and uſeful allies of the empire. The lineal ſucceſſion of kings was interrupted by domeſtic factions

factions; and ſome obſcure uſurper ſeizing on the vacant throne, admitted the Goths into the heart of the Boſphorus. The Goths here obtained the command of a naval force, ſufficient to tranſport their armies to the coaſt of Aſia. This fleet leaving the coaſt of Circaſſia on the left, firſt appeared before Pityus, the utmoſt limits of the Roman empire. As long as that poſt was entruſted to Succeſſianus, they could make no impreſſion; but he being removed by Valerian to a more honourable, though leſs important ſtation, they renewed the attack on Pityus, and carried it; obliterating the memory of their former diſgrace. Circling round the eaſtern extremity of the Euxine ſea, the navigation to Trebiſond, is about three hundred miles. The numerous garriſon of that double walled city, though reinforced with ten thouſand men, was ſo diſſolved in riot and luxury, that the Goths by raiſing a pile of faſcines, entered the town in the middle of the night; the affrighted ſoldiers, went out at the oppoſite gates of the town, leaving the moſt holy temples, and the defenceleſs inhabitants, to a common deſtruction. The Goths returned to their kingdom of the Boſphorus,

rus, with a fleet found in the port, which they loaded with the ſpoil.

Second Expedition of the GOTHS.

A ſecond expedition was undertaken with a greater force of ſhips and men; conducted on the weſtern coaſt of the Euxine. At Chalcedon they fell in with the Roman garriſon, more numerous than themſelves, who deſerted that important poſt, plentifully ſtored with arms and money. Then guided by a perfidious fugitive, they proceded to Nicomedia, the capital of the kings of Bithynia, which together with Nice, Pruſa, Apæmæa, and Cius, all great cities, were, in a few weeks, a like prey to their rage. They failed in their deſigns upon Cyzicus, and retreated to the maritime city of Heraclea, with an immenſe booty.

Third Expedition of the GOTHS.

The third fleet of the Goths, conſiſting of five hundred ſail of ſhips, ſteered its deſtructive courſe from the Cimmerian to the Thracian Boſphorus, into the lake of Propontis.

Cyzicus had formerly withſtood Mithridates, who had 400 gallies, and 150,000 foot and a numerous cavalry.

Their

Their landing on the little iſland of Cyzicus, was attended with the ruin of that ancient and noble city. At length they anchored in the port of Piræus, within five miles of Athens. Cleodamus, the emperor's engineer, was unable to reſiſt their power. A general conflagration blazed out at the ſame time in every diſtrict of Greece. Thebes, Argos, Corinth and Sparta, ſhared an equal fate. The rage of war ſpread from the eaſtern point of Sunium to the weſtern coaſt of Epirus. They advanced within ſight of Italy. Naubolatus, a chief of the Heruli, accepted an honourable capitulation, was inveſted with the ornaments of conſular dignity, and entered with a large body of his countrymen into the ſervice of Rome. Great numbers broke into Mæſia with a deſign of forcing a way over the Danube to the Ukraine. The diſcord of the Roman generals prevented their inevitable deſtruction. A ſmall number returned on board the veſſels through the Helleſpont and Boſphorus, and ravaging the ſhores of Troy, landed at Anchialus in Thrace, near the foot of Mount Hæmus; and, after all their toils, indulged themſelves in thoſe pleaſant and ſalutary hot baths. The famous and celebrated temple of Diana at

Epheſus, was finally deſtroyed in this third naval expedition.

About this time Armenia was conquered by the Perſians under Sapor, and the Emperor Valerian made priſoner. Sapor over-run Syria, Cilicia and Cappadocia. He was at length obliged to paſs the Euphrates by Odenathus, a noble and opulent ſenator of Palmyra: and thus the majeſty of Rome, oppreſſed by a Perſian, was protected by a Syrian, or Arab of Palmyra; on whom Gallienus and the ſenate conferred the title of Auguſtus.

A long and general famine was the inevitable conſequence of theſe rapines and oppreſſions; and a furious plague ravaged every province, every city, and almoſt every family of the Roman empire, from the year 250, till the year 265. And many towns which had eſcaped the hands of the barbarians, were intirely depopulated; and there is good reaſon to believe that war, peſtilence and famine, had conſumed in a few years, the moiety of the human ſpecies.

GOTHIC *Expedition. A.D.* 269.

The Goths prepared a greater armament than had ever yet iſſued from the Euxine ſea;

ſea; conſiſting of two thouſand, ſome ſay ſix thouſand veſſels, and three hundred and twenty thouſand barbarians. They made deſcents on ſeveral places in Europe and Aſia. Some of the chiefs went to Crete and Cyprus; the main body anchored near the foot of mount Athos, and aſſaulted the city of Theſſalonica, the wealthy capital of the Macedonian provinces. The rapid approach of the emperor Claudius diſconcerted their meaſures; they relinquiſhed the ſiege, left their navy, and traverſed the hills of Macedonia, preſſing forward to engage the laſt defence of Italy. They were totally overthrown near Naiſſus, a city of Dardania. A ſelect body of their youth was received among the Imperial troops; the remainder was ſold into ſervitude; and ſo conſiderable was the number of the female captives, that

Hungary has been ſucceſſively occupied by three Scythian colonies.

1. The Huns of Attila.
2. The Abares in the ſixth century.
3. The Turks or Magiars, A. D. 889, the immediate and genuine anceſtors of the modern Hungarians, whoſe connection with the two former is extremely faint and remote.

every

every ſoldier had two or three to his ſhare. By the latter one ſhould conceive, that a ſettlement had been originally intended. A conſiderable body were driven into the moſt inacceſſible parts of mount Hæmus.

On the death of Claudius, the remaining body of Gothic and Vandalic tribes abandoned the ſettlements of the Ukraine. They were encountered by the emperor Aurelian; the doubtful and bloody conflict ended with the night. Exhauſted by many calamities during a twenty years war, the barbarians ſolicited a treaty, which was conſented to by the emperor, on condition that they ſhould furniſh the armies of Rome, with an auxiliary body of two thouſand cavalry. They ſtipulated for a ſafe retreat, and a regular market as far as the Danube, provided at the emperor's care, but at their expence. The province of Dacia was relinquiſhed to them, and was ſoon after the firmeſt barrier of the empire.

ALEMANNI.

The Alemanni conſiſting of forty thouſand horſe and eighty thouſand foot, fell upon

on the Rhætian border, and soon traced a line of devastation from the Danube to the Po. They were attacked by Aurelian, and obliged to sue for peace. He received their ambassadors, but refused their demands. The emperor being called into Pannonia, they traversed the Roman camp and the Danube, to invade Italy. Three bloody battles were fought, and at length the barbarians were exterminated near Pavia.

ALANI *invade* ASIA. *A. D.* 276.

The Alani, a Scythian people, who pitched their tents in the neighbourhood of the lake Mœotis, had engaged to furnish Aurelian with light cavalry to invade Persia. They were faithful to their engagements; but the death of the emperor prevented its taking place. This they considered as a behaviour trifling and perfidious, and prepared for revenge. The generals were not in a capacity, from their doubtful situation from that accident, to receive or oppose them. They soon spread themselves over the provinces of Pontus, Cappadocia, Cilicia, and Galatia. The emperor Tacitus satisfied many of them, and the rest he drove out of the provinces, who were

were obliged to retire without plunder or priſoners.

FRANKS *invade* GAUL. *A. D.* 277.

The Burgundians of the Vandalic race, and the Lygians who reſided on the fontier of Poland and Sileſia, made an attack on Gaul, of theſe laſt the Arii were the moſt daring people, they were defeated by the Emperor Probus, driven back, and the Arii were never more heard of as a people. The deliverance of Gaul is ſaid to have coſt the lives of four hundred thouſand of the invaders. Probus carried his army into Germany, and received the ſubmiſſion of nine of the moſt powerful princes, and a large tribute of corn, cattle, and horſes. The country, which now forms the circle of Swabia, had been left a deſert by the emigration of its inhabitants, in the age of Auguſtus. The fertility of the ſoil ſoon invited a new colony from the adjacent provinces of Gaul. To protect theſe new ſubjects, garriſons were ſtationed from the Rhine to the Danube. But the emperor Probus conſtructed a thick ſtone wall of a conſiderable height, ſtrengthened by towers at proper diſtances. From the neighbourhood of Newſtadt and Ratiſbon on the Danube, it ſtretched acroſs hills,

hills, vallies, rivers, and moraſſes, as far as Wimpfen on the Necker, winding a courſe of two hundred miles. Within a few years after his death, it was overthrown in many places by the Alemanni.

Probus exacted ſixteen thouſand recruits from the barbarians, who were diſperſed by fifty's and ſixty's, among the different quarters of the legions. He beſtowed lands and cattle on new bodies of fugitives and captives. He tranſported a body of Vandals into Britain, probably Cambridgeſhire, who were very faithful to the ſtate. Great numbers of Franks and Gepidæ were ſettled on the banks of the Danube; an hundred thouſand Baſternæ, expelled from their own country, were ſettled in Thrace, and ſoon imbibed the manners and ſentiments of Roman ſubjects. The expectation of Probus was however diſappointed; for the impatience and idleneſs of the barbarians, which could not brook the ſlow progreſs of agriculture, together with the unconquerable love of freedom, ſoon drove them into rebellion, and the important limit of Gaul was never after brought to its ancient vigour.

Surprizing

Surprizing Succeſs in a daring enterprize of the FRANKS. *A. D.* 279.

They had been eſtabliſhed by Probus, on the ſea-coaſt of Pontus, with a view of ſtrengthening the frontier againſt the Alani. A fleet ſtationed in the Euxine, fell into their hands; in which they paſſed through the Boſphorus and the Helleſpont, plundering the unſuſpecting ſhores of Greece and Aſia, and ſacked the famous and ancient city of Syracuſe. They then paſſed through the Mediterranean to the columns of Hercules, then truſted themſelves to the ocean, coaſting round Spain and Gaul, ſteering through the Britiſh channel, and landed on the Batavian and Frizian ſhores.

SARMATIANS.

The Sarmatians ſeemed to unite the manners of the Aſiatic barbarian with the figure and complexion of the ancient inhabitants of Europe; ſometimes confined to the banks of the Tanais, and ſometimes ſpread over the immenſe plains between the Viſtula and Volga. Their moveable camps were the ordinary reſidence of their wives and children, and conſiſted of large waggons drawn by oxen, and covered in the form

form of tents. Their chief military ſtrength was in their cavalry. They wore a kind of cuiraſs made of thin poliſhed ſlices of horſes hoofs, laid over each other in the form of ſcales or feathers, ſowed down to an under garment of coarſe linen. Their weapons conſiſted of bows and arrows, and ſhort daggers. They had lances alſo, which, with their arrows, were headed with fiſh-bones, and dipt in ſome venomous liquid. Shaggy beards and uncombed locks, and their being wrapt in long garments of fur from head to foot, gave them the moſt complete hideous and ſavage appearance. They received the fugitive Vandals, who had been obliged to yield to the Gothic power, and chooſe a king from among them.

GOTHIC WAR, *A. D.* 331, *with the* SARMATIANS.

The Goths and Vandals united againſt the Sarmatians, who were ſoon obliged to implore the aſſiſtance of the emperor Conſtantine. Araric, the Gothic king, boldly paſſed the Danube into the province of Mæſia. The Romans were worſted in the firſt engagement; but in a ſecond, the Goths were defeated, and obliged to leave

the waſted province, and repaſs the Danube. The warlike people of Cherſoneſus, ſituate on the weſtern coaſt of the Tauric or Crimæan peninſula, ſtill retained ſome veſtiges of a Grecian colony, co-operated with the emperor, and the Goths were ſubdued.

A. D. 334.

The Sarmatians, and Vandals who had joined them, were conquered by the Goths, without any interference of the emperor; and the Sarmatians tired of the Vandalic union, three hundred thouſand of them were ſettled in Pannonia, Thrace, Macedonia and Italy; ſome retired beyond the Carpathian mountains, and others joined the Quadi, their German allies.

QUADIAN *and* SARMATIAN WAR.

A. D. 357—358—359.

The Quadi, who had received the vanquiſhed Sarmatians, adopted their arms and military arts, but they were obliged to give way to the Romans, under Conſtantius, and to part with their Sarmatian friends. In this war the Limigantes were extirpated, and the Sarmatian tribes put in poſſeſſion of their lands. One Zizais, was made their king by the Romans, by the name of Sarmaticus,

Sarmaticus, who always maintained a zealous and honorable attachment to the empire.

ALEMANNI.

The Alemanni, during theſe troubles, made inroads into Gaul; but were repulſed in two campaigns by Julian. Their king Cnodomar, with ſix others, and ten princes leading thirty-five thouſand of their choiceſt troops, were defeated in a pitched battle near Straſburgh, by Julian, with a feeble army of thirteen thouſand. Six hundred of them ſlain, and many drowned in the Rhine. Cnodomar and three of his companions, were made priſoners. The Romans loſt four tribunes and two hundred and forty-three ſoldiers.

FRANKS. *A. D.* 358.

The Franks, who were ſeated on the confines of Gaul and Germany, rather from a diſintereſted love of war, than a deſire of plunder, ſeized two caſtles on the Meuſe. After ſuffering great hardſhips, they were made priſoners by Julian, who ſtretching his legions from Cologn to the Ocean, ſoon obliged them to ſue for peace. The Chamavians retreated to their habitations beyond the Rhine: and the Salians were allowed

to

to poſſeſs their new eſtabliſhment in Toxandria. The great and wiſe conduct of Julian, reſtored the province of Gaul to peace and happineſs, which had been long expoſed to the evils of civil diſcord, barbarian war, and domeſtic tyranny.

Firſt Diviſion of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Empire in June 364, *by* VALENTINIAN *and* VALENS.

In the caſtle of Mediana, three miles from Naiſſus, was executed the ſolemn and final diviſion of the Roman empire. Valentinian beſtowed on his brother Valens the rich præfecture of the eaſt, from the Lower Danube to the confines of Perſia; whilſt he reſerved for his immediate government the warlike præfectures of Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul, from the extremity of Greece to the Caledonian rampart; and from thence, to the foot of Mount Atlas.

ALEMANNI *invade* GAUL. *A. D.* 365.

Before Valentinian could croſs the Alps, the villages of Gaul were in flames. In the beginning of the next year, they broke thro'

Naiſſus is a city of Dardania in Mæſia Superior near to Mount Hæmus.

the

the barrier of the Rhine. Two Roman counts were defeated and killed; the Batavians and Heruli loſt their ſtandards, and after ſome diſgrace, having recovered their ſtandards, the Batavians were admitted to pardon. They were afterwards defeated by Jovinus with the loſs of ten thouſand killed and wounded; and with the loſs of twelve hundred on the part of the Romans.

A. D. 368.

The emperor Valentinian paſſed the Rhine, and defeated the Alemanni in the dutchy of Wirtemberg.

BURGUNDIANS. *A. D.* 371.

The Burgundians, of the Vandalic race, poſſeſſed Luſace and Thuringia, and had increaſed to a great nation. They had been in frequent conteſts with the Alemanni, concerning ſome ſalt-pits. The policy of fomenting theſe feuds, among the barbarians, had of late been much attended to by the emperor, who croſſed the Rhine, and obliged eighty thouſand of the Burgundians to retire, and fortified the country in many parts.

The

SAXONS.

The ſea-coaſt of Gaul and Britain was expoſed to the depredations of the Saxons. That celebrated name, in which we have a dear and domeſtic intereſt, eſcaped the notice of Tacitus. The preſent dutchy of Sleſwick or Holſtein, aſſigned by Ptolemy, was incapable of furniſhing the inexhauſtible ſwarms who poured forth to fill the Britiſh iſland, and who ſo long defended the libetry of the north againſt Charlemagne. It is moſt probable, the numerous auxiliaries of the Saxons were furniſhed by the natives of the ſhores of the Baltic, as every tide of the Elbe might float down canoes of hardy aſſociates. The various troops of pirate adventurers, were firſt united from motives of rapine, but became a permanent ſociety, and well regulated government, under the name of Saxons. Their boats of light timber, with ſides and upper-works of wicker-work, covered with hides, were but frail machines to encounter ſo rude an ocean as the Baltic, and the coaſts of Gaul and Britain muſt often have expoſed them to ſhipwreck. But ſo dextrous were theſe daring pirates, that they rejoiced in tempeſts, which at once ſerved

ved to diſperſe their enemies, and hide their own deſigns. Theſe boats were of an admirable conſtruction for their deſultory kind of war, for they drew ſo little water they could proceed to the utmoſt parts of navigable rivers, and were ſo light, that they were eaſily tranſported on waggons. The Saxons who entered the Seine, or the Rhine, ſoon found their way to the Mediterranean, by the Rhone.

A. D. 371.

Under the reign of Valentinian, they made an attempt on Gaul, but were diſappointed by Severus, who ſurrounded, and obliged them to relinquiſh their ſpoil, and to yield a band of moſt tall and robuſt youth to ſerve in the Imperial armies. The treaty which followed, was violated moſt ſhamefully by the Romans, with an intent of putting the whole to the ſword; which treachery was fruſtrated by an accident.

PICTS *and* SCOTS.

The reſemblance of language, religion, and manners, atteſt the iſlands of great Britain, from the coaſt of Kent to the extremity

mity of Caithneſs and Ulſter, to have had a Celtic origin, and to have been peopled from the adjacent continent of Gaul. The Roman province of Britain, was reduced to the ſtate of civilized and peaceful ſervitude: the rights of ſavage freedom were contracted to the limits of Caledonia; which, in the time of Conſtantine, was divided into the two tribes of Scots and Picts; the former dwelling on the hills, the other on the plains. It is probable that in ſome remote period of antiquity, that the fertile plains of Ulſter received a colony of wandering hungry Scots. It is certain that in the decline of the Roman Empire, Caledonia, Ireland and the Iſle of Man were inhabited by the Scots. Six years after the death of Conſtantius they made inroads into England, which were carried on at the ſame time by the Picts and Saxons, from the wall of Antoninus to the ſhores of Kent; and from that time to the Plantagenets, the ſame rage of rapine inſtigated the poor and hardy Caledonian. In the campaigns of 368 and 369, Theodoſius reſtored the Britains to ſecurity, by defeating and chacing the Scots to the diſtant iſlands of Orkney.

GOTHIC

GOTHIC WAR. *A. D.* 366.

The Goths now began to aſſume the conſequence of interfering in the nomination of an emperor to the Romans; and embraced the party of Procopius. The Viſigoths paſſed the Danube with thirty thouſand men, though they had ſtipulated for ten only; but Procopius had been defeated and killed before their arrival, and they were obliged to lay down their arms to the general of Valens. A ſtate of tranquility ſubſiſted ſix years; till they were impelled againſt the Roman empire by an innumerable hoſt of Scythians, who appeared to iſſue from the frozen regions of the North.

WAR *of the* QUADI *and* SARMATIANS, *A. D.* 374.

Gabinius, king of the Quadi, was murdered by Marcellinus in a moſt brutal and treacherous manner. Theſe people were much declined in their power ſince the age of Antoninus. However, by the aſſiſtance of cavalry from the Sarmatians, they invaded Pannonia in harveſt time, which they plundered, and, if they had been induſtrious, they might have ſurprized Sirmium; but Probus putting

it in a ſtate of defence, they turned upon Equitius, maſter-general of the frontier, and deſtroyed two legions; the veteran ſtrength of the Mæſian and Pannonian bands. They were at length defeated by Theodoſius. Valentinian ſet out to take a bloody revenge on the Quadi. He paſſed the Danube; and receiving their ambaſſadors, he in a fury of anger, which he indulged on that occaſion, burſt a blood-veſſel and expired inſtantly in November 375.

HUNS *and* GOTHS, *A. D.* 376.

The invaſion of the Huns precipitated the Gothic nation on the provinces of the weſt; which in leſs than forty years, advanced from the Danube to the Atlantic.

Manners of the SCYTHIANS, *or* TARTARS.

In every age, the immenſe plains of Scythia, or Tartary, have been inhabited by various tribes of hunters and ſhepherds, whoſe indolence refuſed to cultivate the earth, and whoſe reſtleſs ſpirit diſdained the confinement of a ſedentary life. They have been always famous for an invincible courage, which has often overturned the thrones of Aſia, and ſpread terror over the moſt fertile and

and warlike countries of Europe. The ſame ſort of people are now ſeen on the banks of the Boryſthenes and the Volga, that are ſet forth in the narratives of antiquity.

Their diet conſiſts of fleſh and milk, and they are little curious of the kind, whether ſheep, oxen, or horſes, or whether they die of diſeaſe, or are killed; and are as little ſolicitous about their cookery. They ſometimes ſmoke the fleſh, or dry it in the ſun, to preſerve it, when it is ſufficiently cured for their uſe. On a ſudden emergency, they provide themſelves with a quantity of little balls of cheeſe, or rather hard curd, proportionate to the occaſion, which they diſſolve in water; and can ſupport themſelves many days on this unſubſtantial diet. They extract from mare's milk, a fermented liquor, which intoxicates; but are better pleaſed to come at wines. Like other ſavages, they are patient in hunger, and intemperate in plenty. The houſes of the Tartars are no more than ſmall tents, of an oval form, which afford a cold and dirty habitation, to the promiſcuous youth of both ſexes. The palaces of the rich conſiſt of wooden huts, of a ſize that may be conveniently carried on waggons, drawn by a team of

of twenty or thirty oxen. The flocks are brought within the camp in the evening. When the forage in one quarter is conſumed, thay move to another; in the ſummer to the north and in the winter towards the ſouth; pitching their tents on the banks of a river, or in the neighbourhood of a running ſtream. The camp, and not the ſoil, is the native country of the Tartar; in which his family, companions, and riches are included. The thirſt of rapine, has always been ſufficient incitement to advance boldy into any country. Their leiſure is uſually ſpent in the violent and ſanguinary exerciſe of the chace. They are ſo active on horſeback, that they are ſuppoſed to be able to eat, drink, and even ſleep on their horſes. They are dexterous with the lance, bow and arrow. They are always in training for war; for it is but to change the object to a human enemy, the exerciſe, ſkill, diſcipline, patience and valour which they continually practice in the hunting of wild beaſts, ſerve as a prelude to the conqueſt of a kingdom. They have a great pride in their genealogy; and all conſider themſelves as the deſcendants of the firſt founder of their tribe: and to the head they yield a ready obedience, as a judge, in peace, and

and leader, in war. In failure of children, the chieftain adopts the braveſt of the tribe; and all the Khans from Crimea, to the wall of China, are lineal deſcendants of Gingis. The Tartar ſovereign, is entitled to the tenth of the property of his ſubjects, and of the ſpoil.

The Greeks, who navigated the Euxine ſea, and ſettled colonies on its coaſts, diſcovered Scythia; from the Danube, and the confines of Thrace, as far as the frozen Mœotis, and Mount Caucaſus. On the eaſt, the province of Perſia was often expoſed to the violence of the wild inhabitants beyond the Oxus and the Jaxertes, which direct their courſe to the Caſpian ſea. From the mouths of the Danube to the ſea of Japan, is about five thouſand miles, and from the fortieth degree of latitude, one may advance one thouſand miles to the northward, before the progreſs is ſtopped by the exceſſive cold of Siberia; which contains the ſubterranean dwellings of the Tongouſes, and Samoides: the want of horſes and oxen is ſupplied by rein-deer and large dogs, to a deformed ſet of wretches who tremble at the ſound of arms. The Huns who threatened the empire under

under Valens, had been formidable, in a much earlier period, to the empire of China. In the third century before Chriſt, a wall of fifteen hundred miles was built, to defend China from their irruptions; but it did not avail againſt an army of cavalry of two or three hundred thouſand, who laid the empire under tribute of money, ſilks and even virgins, which was annually exacted. China has been twice conquered by them: but from the year one hundred and forty-one to that of eighty-ſeven before Chriſt, the emperor Vouti ſubdued them: but of one hundred and forty thouſand who went on the expedition and purſued them into a diſtant part, only ten thouſand returned. Two great emigrations took place towards the Oxus and the Volga: the firſt ſeated themſelves on the extenſive plains of Sogdiana, on the eaſtern ſide of the Caſpian ſea; the ſecond diviſion gradually advanced to the north-weſt, where neceſſity compelled them to exchange the ſilks of China, for the furs of Siberia. In the thirteenth century, their tranſient reſidence on the eaſtern banks of the Volga, was called Great Hungary. They remained a century under the protection of the Ruſſians; but returned to the frontiers of

of China, in one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-one. The tranſmigration conſiſted of three hundred thouſand perſons, under fifty thouſand tents.

The firſt occaſion the Huns had to ſhow themſelves to the Romans, was ſoon after they had advanced to invade the country of the Alani, a paſtoral people who occupied a tract of the deſerts of Scythia. The plains between the Tanais and Volga, were covered with the tents of the Alani. Towards the north, they penetrated Siberia. The mixture of Sarmatic and German blood, had improved the features of the Alani, and tinged their hair with a yellowiſh caſt. They were leſs deformed than the Huns, but equal to them in ſavageneſs. A naked ſcymetar, ſtuck into the ground, was the only object of their religious worſhip; and the ſcalps of their enemies formed the trappings of their horſes. They were however ſubdued and extirpated by the Huns: ſome took refuge in the mountains of Caucaſus, between the Euxine and the Caſpian ſea, where they ſtill preſerve their name and independence; others joined the northern tribes of Germans; and

ſome

ſome confederated with their conquerors, to invade the limits of the Gothic empire.

GOTHIC WAR *with the* HUNS, *A. D.* 375.

The great Hermanric, whoſe dominions extended from the Baltic to the Euxine, was alarmed by an invaſion of the Huns, who were deemed barbarians by the Goths. The Huns differed from the reſt of the human ſpecies by their broad ſhoulders, flat noſes, ſmall black eyes, deeply buried in their heads, and being almoſt deſtitute of beard. The Oſtro and Viſigoths were unable to ſtand againſt the force of the Huns: and the royal race of the Amali became the ſubjects of the haughty Attila. The body of the Viſigoth nation implored the protection of the eaſtern emperor Valens, in three hundred and ſeventy-ſix, who cauſed them to be tranſported croſs the Danube into Thrace. The whole maſs was ſuppoſed to amount to a million. The children were conveyed away; and their arms, which by treaty, were to have been given up, were preſerved to them through the luſt, avarice, and perfidy of the Roman officers, who bartered them againſt the proſtitution of the wives and children of the unhappy Goths. The Oſtrogoths ſent ambaſſadors

baſſadors to ſolicit the ſame indulgence, but were refuſed. The rapacious avarice of the Roman generals ſtript the Goths of every thing valuable and neceſſary, but artificially raiſing the price of every thing uſeful; and extorted from theſe miſerable people, their ſlaves, and even daughters, to preſerve themſelves and children from ſtarving. The Oſtrogoths availed themſelves of this diſcontent, and of the neglect of the Roman generals, who had diſarmed the ſhips and fortifications on the Danube; which they paſſed with their king, and united with the Viſigoths, who, together, defeated the treacherous Lupicinus; and that victory put an end to the diſtreſs of the Goths, and the ſecurity of the Romans. They ravaged Thrace, and there finding a party of Goths, they undertook the ſiege of Hadrianople; to which, they were, however, unequal; and their king, who ſoon perceived he ſhould not ſucceed, declared, "he was at peace with ſtone walls," and ſought revenge for his diſappointment in the adjacent country. The emperor Valens contented himſelf, by entruſting the care of the war to his generals Trajan and Profuturus, who attacked their camp near the ſix mouths of the Danube.

The conteſt was well diſputed on both ſides, with a great loſs; but without victory declaring for either in this battle of Salices. The Romans would have been ruined by ſuch another conteſt; the Goths however neglected it, and the Romans had conceived, and began to execute a well concerted plan, which, was intended to cruſh them with their own weight; by confining the Viſigoths in the narrow angle between the Danube, the deſerts of Scythia, and the mountains of Hæmus: but an alarm of a freſh ſwarm of barbarians having croſſed the Danube, obliged the Roman general Saturninus to relinquiſh the ſiege of the Gothic camp. The Goths were reinforced with Alani, Sarmatians, and ſeveral hords of the Huns.

ALEMANNI. *A. D.* 378.

The Alemanni attacked Gaul, on the invitation of a countryman, who was a ſoldier in the life-guards of Gratian, who informed them of its weakneſs, by the legions being moſt of them marched to defend the eaſtern frontier. The legions were, however, ordered back, and the Alemanni were defeated with great ſlaughter near Colmar, in the plains of Alſace. Valens undertook to march and encounter

counter the Goths; and conſulting his pride and arrogance only, refuſed to wait for the legions from the weſt. On the ninth of Auguſt 378, he attacked the Goths, and received a complete overthrow: the Roman cavalry, unable to make head againſt the violent and reiterated ſhocks of the Scythian horſe, fled, and the infantry was cut to pieces.

The loſs of this day far ſurpaſſed that which Rome had ſuſtained in the fields of Cannæ: the emperor, two great officers of the palace, thirty-five tribunes, and above two-thirds of the army, were killed. The barbarians again beſieged Hadrianople; but being again repulſed, they ravaged the country to the gates of Conſtantinople. It happened there that a party of Saracens, whom Valens had luckily taken into his ſervice, iſſued from one of the gates of the city, and ſoon made known their ſuperior force in horſes and men, over thoſe of Scythia. But if the Huns were in amazement at their ſurprizing agility and courage, they were no leſs ſo to ſee the Saracens riſe above them in the ſavage ferocity of their manners. A Gothic ſoldier was ſlain by the dagger of an Arab; and the hairy, naked ſavage, applying his lips to the wound, expreſſed

expreſſed a horrid delight, while he ſucked the blood of his vanquiſhed enemy.

The ſons of the Goths, who had been judiciouſly diſtributed through the cities of the Eaſt, had, in the ſpace of twelve years, attained the ſtrength and ſpirit of manhood. It was impoſſible to conceal from them the events of the Gothic War; and, they could not avoid the betraying their wiſh to emulate the glorious example of their fathers; which ſeemed to juſtify the jealous ſuſpicions of the provincials, for the public ſafety. Julius, the maſter general of the troops, conſulted the ſenate of Conſtantinople, after the death of Valens, and obtained permiſſion to proceed as he thought beſt for the public good. He then made known his bloody deſign to ſome of the chief officers; and an order was promulgated, that, on a ſtated day, the Gothic youth ſhould aſſemble in the capital cities of their reſpective provinces; and it was reported they were to receive a liberal gift of lands and money. At the ſame hour, in all the cities of the Eaſt, an indiſcriminate ſlaughter took place; and the provinces were, by the cruel prudence of Julius, delivered from their fears.

The

The loſs of forty thouſand men in the battle of Salices, might ſoon have been recruited in the populous provinces of the Eaſt. The ſtuds of Spain and Cappadocia would eaſily have furniſhed a body of cavalry to oppoſe that of the barbarians; and the thirty-four arſenals of the empire, were plentifully ſtored with magazines of weapons, offenſive and defenſive; and the wealth of Aſia, might ſtill have yielded an ample fund for the expences of the war. But the effects which the laſt battle produced on the minds of the barbarians, and of the Romans, extended the victory of the former, and the defeat of the latter, far beyond the limits of a ſingle day. A Gothic chief was heard to ſay, with inſolent moderation, that, for his own part, he was fatigued with ſlaughter; but that he was aſtoniſhed, how a people, who had fled before him like a flock of ſheep, could ſtill preſume to diſpute the poſſeſſion of their treaſures and provinces. If the great Theodoſius, (a name he juſtly deſerved) who had been called to the command of the empire, had haſtily collected his ſcattered forces, and led them into the field againſt the victorious enemy, ſuch impreſſion of terror was in the minds of the Roman ſoldier, that they would have been vanquiſhed

vanquiſhed by their own fears. But he conducted this momentous buſineſs, like a firm and faithful guardian of the republic. He fixed his head-quarters at Theſſalonica, the capital of the Macedonian province; from whence he could watch the irregular motions of the barbarians, and direct the operations of his lieutenants, from Conſtantinople to the ſhores of the Hadriatic. The fortifications and garriſons were ſtrengthened; and from theſe ſecure ſtations, ſallies were made as often as occaſions were offered; which gave a ſuperiority in favour of his troops, till by degrees, the troops, by their own experience, were convinced of the poſſibility of conquering what they deemed an invincible enemy: by which means he at the ſame time contributed to ſubdue the pride of the barbarians, and animate the hopes and courage of his ſubjects. Neither from Fabius, or Scipio, or on any other occaſion, had the republic received more ſalutary aſſiſtances from councils or actions; all of which was atchieved by the great mind of Theodoſius, while his body moſt unſeaſonably languiſhed, under a long and dangerous diſeaſe.

The

DIVISIONS *of the* BARBARIANS.
From A. D. 379 to 382.

The deliverance and peace of the Roman provinces was more the work of prudence than valour. The death of Fritigern, the predeceſſor and maſter of the great Alaric, whoſe wiſdom had cemented ſo many capricious minds in union, at once diſſolved the bands of agreement, and each nation was left to its own intemperance of opinion. The Huns and Alani upbraided the Goths with their former flight; and the jealouſies of the Oſtro and Viſigoths could be no longer ſuſpended. Modar, a prince of the royal blood of the Amali, became a valuable acquiſition to the Roman ſtandard: he ſurprized an army of his countrymen, immerſed in wine and ſleep, and after a cruel ſlaughter, returned to the Roman camp with four thouſand waggons laden with ſpoil.

GRUTHUNGI, *or* OSTROGOTHS.
From A. D. 383 *to* 395.

An invaſion of the Gruthingi or Oſtrogoths, was ſoon followed by a defeat under

der the prudence of Theodoſius; and, by a treaty afterwards, a numerous body of them was planted in Phrygia and Lydia, and a colony of Viſigoths was ſettled in Thrace; whoſe immediate wants were ſupplied by a diſtribution of corn and cattle. Theodoſius took forty thouſand of them, for the perpetual ſervice of the Eaſt; and had the addreſs to perſuade his new confederates, that the conditions of peace had been extorted from him, by his ſincere friendſhip for the Gothic nation. The native courage of theſe confederates would be improved by the uſe of arms, and of diſcipline; but, while the republic was guarded, or threatened, by the doubtful ſword of the barbarians, the laſt ſparks of military flame, were finally extinguiſhed in the minds of the Romans. The advocates of Theodoſius could affirm, with ſome appearance of truth and reaſon, that it was impoſſible to extirpate ſuch numerous tribes of barbarians; that they might be poliſhed by time, and the influence of the Chriſtian religion; and that their poſterity would inſenſibly blend with the great body of the Roman people. Notwithſtanding theſe ſpecious arguments, it was apparent to every diſcerning eye, that the Goths would long remain

the

the enemies, and might ſoon become the conquerors of the Roman empire.

Second DIVISION *of the* ROMAN EMPIRE, *A. D.* 395.

The empire of the whole Roman world, which had been united in Theodoſius, the laſt of the ſucceſſors of Auguſtus and Conſtantine, who appeared in the field at the head of armies, was again divided, on his death, between his ſons Arcadius and Honorius; the former, then eighteen years of age, reſided in Conſtantinople, where he appeared to reign over the provinces of Thrace, Aſia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, from the Lower Danube to the confines of Perſia and Æthiopia. His younger brother, Honorius, aſſumed, at eleven years of age, the nominal government of Italy, Africa, Gaul, Spain and Britain; and the troops, which guarded the frontiers of his kingdom, were oppoſed, on one ſide, to the Caledonians, and on the other to the Moors. The great and martial præfecture of Illyricum was divided. The defence and poſſeſſion of Noricum, Pannonia, and Dalmatia, ſtill belonged to the Weſtern empire; the two large dioceſes of Dacia and Macedonia, were for ever united to the empire of the Eaſt.

The boundary in Europe was not very different from the line which now ſeparates the Germans and the Turks; and the diviſion of the empire, ſeems to have been fairly balanced in ſtrength and riches.

Revolt of the GOTHS, *A. D.* 395.

Theodoſius died in January; and before the end of the winter of the ſame year, the barbarian auxiliaries erected their independant ſtandard, and boldly avowed the hoſtile deſigns they had long cheriſhed. The barriers of the Danube were thrown open to the ſavage warriors of Scythia; and the various troops of Barbarians, who gloried in the Gothic name, were ſpread from the woody ſhores of Dalmatia, to the walls of Conſtantinople.

GOTHS *ravage* GREECE, *under* ALARIC.

Alaric, who had ſolicited and been refuſed a command in the Roman armies, had ſome thoughts of beginning his great projects with the ſiege of Conſtantinople; but on due conſideration, believing himſelf unequal to the taſk, he entered Greece without oppoſition, and it was ſuſpected not without treachery

treachery on the part of Rufinus. The troops poſted to defend the ſtreights of Thermopylæ might have ſtopt him, but they retreated as they were directed, and left the country open to the ravages of Alaric. Athens was ranſomed. Corinth, Argos, and Sparta, yielded without oppoſition. Thebes by accident eſcaped. It may be obſerved here, that, at this time, Alaric, and many tribes of the Goths, had embraced Chriſtianity.

Alaric was attacked and beat by the Roman general Stilicho; and his whole army was in the greateſt danger of being obliged to ſurrender priſoners, if the too great confidence of the general had not made him neglectful. Alaric watched the proper occaſion, and broke through the Roman entrenchments which ſurrounded him, and entered Epirus, where he ſecretly concluded a treaty with the court of Conſtantinople; and the next year was made maſter-general of Illyricum, and was proclaimed king of the Viſigoths.

ALARIC *invades* ITALY. *A. D.* 400.

Stilicho undertook the defence of Italy, againſt

againſt the arms of the Goths, with great zeal and activity. Honorius, however, was obliged to fly from his palace at Milan, on the approach of Alaric, and was near being made priſoner by the Gothic cavalry. Alaric beſieged the emperor in Aſta, a fortified town in Liguria or Piedmont; but it was relieved by Stilicho, who defeated the Goths in a bloody battle at Pollentia, and a ſecond time near Verona. At the triumph of Honorius, on account of theſe ſucceſſes, the fight of gladiators was exhibited for the laſt time. Alaric paſſed the Appenines and boldly meditated an attack upon Rome. Stilicho thought it ſafer to bargain for his retreat than to riſk the conſequences that might attend the preſſing him to the utmoſt. The emperor Honorius changed his reſidence, from Milan to Ravenna, after the retreat of the barbarians, who went to the north of the Euxine.

Emigration of VANDALS, SUEVI, *and* BURGUNDIANS, *under* RADAGAISUS, *A. D.* 406.

Radagaiſus, a barbarian chief, by ſome called king of the Goths, iſſued from the ſame coaſt of the Baltic which had formerly poured

poured forth the Cimbri and Teutones, at the head of a formidable hoſt of two hundred thouſand fighting men, which, by the acceſſion of ſlaves, women, and children, might amount to four hundred thouſand, broke through the defences of the upper Danube, paſſed into Italy, and undertook the ſiege of Florence. Stilicho marched againſt him, with ſuch troops as he could get together; aſſiſted by ſome of the Goths, Huns, and Alani. He ſurrounded the camp of the barbarians; and, by famine, reduced the army to ſurrender. Radagaiſus was ſhamefully beheaded.

ITALY *invaded by* ALARIC. *A. D.* 408.

The intrigues and treachery of the court of Ravenna, induced Alaric to reſolve to march to Rome. It was now ſix hundred and nineteen years, ſince Rome had ſeen an enemy at its gates. It was rather a blockade than a ſiege; and which was attended by famine and plague.

ROME *Beſieged and Sacked.* *A. D.* 409—410.

Alaric accepted a ranſom and raiſed the ſiege; but after ſome fruitleſs negotiations with

with the court of Ravenna, he beſieged it a ſecond time, and it was delivered up to him. He created Attalus, the præfect of the city, emperor of the Goths and Romans, and next year degraded him, and Rome was again beſieged and ſacked. Thus was the miſtreſs of the world, after a ſovereignty of eleven hundred and ſixty three years, delivered up to the licentious fury of the barbarian tribes of Germany and Scythia.

Alaric, after having evacuated Rome, plundered the fruitful country of Campania, died, and was ſucceeded by his brother-in-law Adolphus, who concluded a treaty of peace with the emperor, and married Placidia, the daughter of Theodoſius. He marched into Gaul in 412, and ſoon extended his quarters from the Mediterranean to the ocean. He afterwards marched into Spain, died, and was ſucceeded by Singeric, who conquered and reſtored Spain to the empire. His victorious Goths were ſeated in Aquitaine in 419; and about the ſame time, in the laſt years of Honorius, the Goths, Burgundians, and Franks, obtained a permanent ſeat and dominion in Gaul; which, was effected with a degree of kindneſs and humanity that could

could never have been expected from their appearance, and behaviour a few years before.

Revolt of BRITAIN *and* ARMORICA, *A. D.* 409.

The iſland of Britain, and the Armorican provinces, which comprehend the maritime countries of Gaul between the Seine and Loire, expelled the Roman magiſtrates, and eſtabliſhed a free government; and their independance was ſoon after confirmed by Honorius.

In the war of 422, between the Romans and Perſians, Armenia was divided between the two powers.

GENSERIC, *king of the* VANDALS *land in* AFRICA, *A. D.* 429.

Genſeric, whoſe aſſiſtance had been implored by the Roman general, in Africa, paſſed over there at the head of his Vandals and the Alani; who, in the courſe of twenty years, exchanged the rigorous climate of the Elbe, and the cold plains of Scythia, for the exceſſive heats of Africa. Boniface repented of his error, though too late;

late; and, with the Roman garriſons, returned to his allegiance; but it was no longer in his power to reſtore the edifice, which he had ſhaken to the ground. The band of veterans, and his new raiſed levies, were defeated with conſiderable loſs; and the whole open country became a prey to the barbarians, who took Hippo and Carthage five hundred and eighty-five years after its deſtruction by Scipio.

HUNS, *from* 376 *to* 433.

In the reign of Attila, the Huns became again the terror of the world. They had been in alliance with the Romans for ſome time; and Ætius, the Roman general, had given up to them the province of Pannonia. In the year 433, he exacted a tribute from the Romans.

HUNS, 433 *to* 453.

Attila, like ſome other great conquerors, thought it prudent to unite the arts of religion with the power of his ſword; and in order to work on the minds of his followers, he inſinuated a confidence of victory, by perſuading them that he had found the ſword of Mars. He united the two migh-

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ty kingdoms of Germany and Scythia: Thuringia alſo was in the number of his provinces. He interpoſed with great weight among the Franks; and almoſt extirpated the Burgundians of the Rhine. He ſubdued thoſe iſlands of the ocean, the kingdoms of Scandinavia, encompaſſed and divided by the waters of the Baltic. Towards the Eaſt he reigned from the banks of the Volga, acroſs the Scythian deſarts, to the borders of China: the Gepidæ and the Oſtrogoths acknowledged his ſovereignty. When his military force was collected, it amounted from five to ſeven hundred thouſand barbarians. He had moreover the reputation of a great magician.

HUNS, *A. D.* 430 *to* 440.

A party of the Huns invaded Perſia, and returned to their ſettlement with horſes from Cappadocia, and other ſpoils. Attila deſtroyed, with fire and ſword, the cities of Sirmium, Singidunum, Ratiaria, Marcianopolis, Naiſſus and Sardica: the whole breadth of Europe from the Euxine to the Hadriatic, was at once invaded and overrun by the numerous barbarians. The Romans having been defeated in three engagements, they ravaged the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia. Conſtantinople alone was pro-

tected by its walls. In the treaty of peace, Attila ſtipulated for the annual payment of two thouſand one hundred pounds of gold; and for the immediate ſum of ſix thouſand.

Junction of Force under ÆTIUS, *A. D.* 450.

Attila threatened both empires, but determined on invading Gaul. At the ſiege of Orleans, a junction of Romans, Viſigoths, Læti, Sarmatians or Alani, Ripuarians,* and Franks, obliged him to raiſe the ſiege; and on the plains of Chalons, a moſt bloody battle was fought: the number of the ſlain has been computed, from one hundred and ſixty-two, to three hundred thouſand men. Attila was obliged to retreat; but he invaded Italy, and laid ſiege to Aquileia, the ſtrongeſt city on the Hadriatic coaſt, which he deſtroyed, and ravaged Lombardy, and got poſſeſſion of the palace of Milan.

VENICE.

Venice was founded at this time from a confederacy of families who had eſcaped the deſtructive ſword of Attila; from the

* People from the Borders of the Rhine and Meuſe.

cities

cities of Aquileia, Padua and the adjacent towns; and is conſidered by an eminent writer, as the only legitimate offspring of the Roman republic.

Death of ATTILA, *and ruin of his Empire*, 453.

Attila having given peace to the Romans, died. His empire, a huge and disjointed fabric, which his genius alone had eſtabliſhed and was able to ſuſtain, fell immediately to pieces: the boldeſt chieftains aſpired to the rank of kings; the moſt powerful kings refuſed to acknowledge a ſuperior, and the whole maſs became agitated with jealouſies and diviſions; which brought on a battle amongſt the different parties. Thirty thouſand men were killed when victory declared Ardaric, king of the Gepidæ. The palace of Attila, with the old country of Dacia, from the Carpathian hills to the Euxine, became the ſeat of a new power.

VANDALS, 439 *to* 455, *ſack* ROME.

The Vandals and Alani, under Genſeric, having acquired a rich and fertile territory, which reached from Tangier to Tripoli, built a fleet and paſſed over to Sicily; which they

they conquered, and returned to Africa; and three months after the elevation of Maximus to the command of the empire, he equipped a fleet of Vandals and Moors, anchored in the Tyber, and ſacked Rome in the month of June 555.

Naval War of the VANDALS, 391 *to* 497.

The kingdom of Italy, to which the weſtern empire was gradually reduced, was the prey of Vandalic piracy. The fleets of Genſeric repeatedly viſited the coaſts of Spain, Liguria, Tuſcany, Campania, Lucania, Apulia, Calabria, Venetia, Dalmatia, Epirus, Greece, and Sicily, and ſpread deſolation

NOTES.

493.

Italy was firſt conquered by the Heruli, a people from the borders of the Black Sea, who were ſoon expelled by the Oſtrogoths. They acknowledged the Emperors of Conſtantinople their ſuperiors in rank only. Ravenna was the ſeat of their court, which in magnificence vied with ancient Rome; as their equitable adminiſtration did with the reigns of Trajan and Antoninus. They were ſubdued by Beliſarius and Narſes, the generals of Juſtinian, who united Italy once more to the Greek empire.

570.

Great part of Italy was ſeized by Alboinus, king of the

from the columns of Hercules, to the mouth of the Nile.

A. D. 468.

A fleet of eleven hundred and thirteen veſſels, containing a hundred thouſand men, was equipped, and ſailed from Conſtantinople to Carthage. A truce took place, which ſaved Genſeric, who ſoon after attacked the fleet; and Baſilius returned to Conſtantinople, with the loſs of more than half his fleet and army.

VISIGOTHS, *A. D.* 429 *to* 472.

The Viſigoths determined on the extinction of the Roman empire in Spain, which they

the Longobards, or Lombards, a Gothic nation. Paiza was the place of his reſidence, and of his ſucceſſors. Alboinus eſtabliſhed the feudal policy, ſettling his chief officers, under the titles of dukes, in the great cities of every province. The ſame was done in Italy, in the provinces belonging to the Greek Empire; the exarch or ſupreme governor of which, reſided at Ravanna, appointing dukes and removing them at pleaſure. Even Rome was governed by a Duke, and the name of Senate and Conſuls aboliſhed.

575.

On the death of Alboinus the, Lombards changed their

they effected; permitting the Suevi to hold the kingdom of Galicia under them.

End of the ROMAN *Empire, A. D.* 476 *to* 479.

Auguſtulus, the laſt emperor of the weſt, was dethroned, and baniſhed to the Lucullan villa, by Odoacer, who was proclaimed king of Italy, at the head of a confederacy of mercenaries. He was the firſt Barbarian king of the Romans.

VISIGOTHS, 476 *to* 485.

Euric, king of the Viſigoths, was monarch of Spain and Gaul; the Heruli, Saxons,

their form of government, and for ten years would have no king, but lived under their dukes; when each became ſovereign of its own city and diſtrict.

585.

Autharis was called to the throne. He allowed the dukes to remain, but reſerved to himſelf the chief juriſdiction. He was the firſt chriſtian of the Lombard kings, and the firſt who gave written laws.

663 *to* 866.

The emperor Conſtans landed in Italy; but Grimoald, who was then king, prevented his getting any advantages.

Luitprand

ons, Vandals of Africa, and Oſtrogoths of Pannonia, cultivated his uſeful friendſhip.

CLOVIS, *king of the* FRANKS, *A. D.* 481 *to* 511.

Clovis, on the death of his father Childeric, ſucceeded to the command of the Salian line. His kingdom was confined to the iſland of the Batavians, and the dioceſes of Tournay, and Arras. The number of his warriors could not exceed five thouſand.

712.

Luitprand was a prince of very eminent qualities. He formed the deſign of making himſelf maſter of all Italy. He took Ravenna; and moſt of the other of cities the Exarchate ſurrendered to his arms. He was in a fair way to be maſter of all Italy, but neither he nor his ſucceſſors ever could complete it. The attempt proved fatal to the Lombards.

774.

Deſiderius ravaged the papal territories, and threatened to lay ſiege to Rome; but unable to keep the field againſt Charlemagne, he retired to Pavia. The Lombards defended their city with the greateſt valour; but a plague breaking out, he was obliged to deliver himſelf, wife, and family to Charles, who ſent them into France, and they were no more heard of. Thus ended the kingdom of the Lombards, after 206 years.

ſand. The kindred tribes of Franks, along the Belgic rivers of the Scheld, Meuſe, Moſelle, and Rhine, joined in confederacy with him. When he firſt took the field, he had neither gold or ſilver, corn or wine.

A. D. 486.

His firſt victory was over Syagrius; who inherited as a patrimonial eſtate, the dioceſe and city of Soiſſons. In ten years after he defeated the Alemanni, and received their ſubmiſſion. He gradually ſubdued the exhauſted countries as far as the Elbe and the mountains of Bohemia. He was a convert to Chriſtianity in 496; and in the year 500, he conquered the Burgundians, whoſe kingdom laid between the Saone and the Rhone. In 507 he conquered the Viſigoths, killing their king Alaric with his own hand. In 508, he conquered Aquitain, but receiving a check at Arles, he concluded a treaty of peace with the Viſigoths, who were permitted to retain poſſeſſion of Septimania, a narrow tract of ſea-coaſt, from the Rhone to the Pyrenees.

Eſtabliſhment

Eſtabliſhment of the FRENCH MONARCHY *in* GAUL, 536.

Twenty-five years after the death of Clovis, this important conceſſion was finally declared in a treaty between his ſons and the emperor Juſtinian. Arles and Marſeilles had been given up to the Franks by the Oſtrogoths. The Franks, or French, are the only people in Europe who can deduce a perpetual ſucceſſion from the conquerors of the Weſtern empire. The Viſigoths on reſigning their Gallic poſſeſſions, were allowed to ſettle quietly in Spain.

Deſcent of the SAXONS *into Britain.* *A. D.* 449.

Forty years after the diſſolution of the Roman government, Vortigern ſeems to have obtained the ſupremacy, and command of the princes and cities of Britain. Hengiſt and Horſa, whoſe aſſiſtance had been implored, delivered the iſland from the Caledonian invaders; and the iſle of Thanet was allotted for the reſidence of the German auxiliaries.

SAXON *Heptarchy founded.* *A. D.* 455 *to* 583.

The coaſt of Britain was invaded in all parts by colonies from the mouths of the Elbe, the Weſer, and the Rhine; the Jutes, the Old Saxons, and the Angles; the former under Hengiſt. The barbarians, who inſenſibly were blended with this triple confederacy in hopes of plunder, conſiſted of Frizians, Danes, Pruſſians, Rugians, and ſome adventurous Huns; each conducting their ſeperate operations as beſt ſuited with their force and private intereſts. But ſeven victorious leaders only, maintained the title of kings; and ſeven families, one of which has continued by female ſucceſſion to our preſent ſovereign, derived their equal and ſacred lineage from Waden the god of war.

Here ends the narrative of the decline and fall of the Roman empire; from the fortunate age of Trajan and the Antonines, to its total extinction in the weſt, about five centuries after the Chriſtian Æra. At that unhappy period the Saxons fiercely ſtruggled with the natives for the ſucceſſion of Britain. Gaul and Spain were divided between the powerful monarchies of the Franks and Viſigoths, and

and the dependant kingdoms of the Suevi and Burgundians. Africa was expoſed to the cruel perſecution of the Vandals, and the ſavage inhabitants of Mauritania and Gætulia Rome and Italy, as far as the banks of the Danube, were afflicted by an army of barbarian mercenaries, whoſe lawleſs tyranny was ſucceeded by the reign of Theodoric, the Oſtrogoth. All the ſubjects of the empire, who by the uſe of the Latin language more particularly deſerved the name and privileges of Romans, were oppreſſed by the diſgrace and calamities of foreign conqueſt; and the victorious nations of Germany eſtabliſhed a new ſyſtem of manners and government in the weſtern countries of Europe. The majeſty of Rome was faintly repreſented by the princes of Conſtantinople, the feeble and imaginary ſucceſſors of Auguſtus; yet they continued to reign over the Eaſt, from the Danube to the Nile and Tigris. The Gothic and Vandal kingdoms of Italy and Africa were ſubdued by the arms of Juſtinian; and the hiſtory of the Greek Emperors may ſtill afford a long ſeries of inſtructive leſſons, and intereſting revolutions.

HERE ENDS MR. GIBBON'S HISTORY, ON THIS SUBJECT.

SHORT REFLECTION ON THE RISE AND DECLINE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

THE vaſt power of the Roman empire originated in its high national honour; founded perhaps at firſt, on the juſt and natural principle of ſelf-defence, and in its inimitable ſyſtem of military diſcipline and arrangement of force, in the compoſition and manœuvres of the legion. A long ſeries of ſucceſs in war, carried the empire beyond all reaſonable limits; and the extent, on all ſides, became too remote from the centre of Government, to be guided by

by a proper œconomy. The dependance of the emperors on the ſoldiery, inſenſibly became abſolute; which brought on a relaxation of diſcipline, without remedy.

The home provinces were unable to furniſh the vaſt and frequent calls for ſoldiers, to fill up the vacancies in the various and numerous military ſtations, and armies; and the emperors, from at firſt receiving the barbarian borderers as allies, admitted them into the Roman legions. Theſe men finding themſelves the more hardy, and better ſoldiers, were under little reſtraint; and being often more inclined to favour their countrymen, than their truſt, their perfidy frequently occaſioned irreparable miſchiefs; till at length, Rome had no army in which it could confide, to oppoſe the continual influx of barbarians from all the northern regions; and the whole Roman empire, was ſeized and parcelled out amongſt them, under the names of GOTHS, VANDALS, and HUNS.

OF THE

SARACENS.

MAHOMET, the founder of the Mahometan religion, died in 633, and his countrymen animated by the the moſt violent ſpirit of fanaticiſm, ſoon after over-run moſt part of Aſia, and Africa, their valour being irreſiſtible. The Koran having promiſed Heaven and eternal ſenſuality to ſuch as fell in battle, they rather courted dangers; and the conquerors always tendering liberty and protection, to thoſe who embraced their ſuperſtition, they threatened the whole world with ſubjection. Count Julian, whoſe daughter had been diſhonoured by king Roderic, invited them into Spain: nor is this circumſtance improbable, conſidering the character of the times. The Saracens already

dy maſters of Mauritania, or Barbary, ſoon effected a deſcent on Spain; and by the deciſive battle of Xeres, in Andaluſia, put an end to the empire of the Viſigoths. Muza, viceroy of Africa under the caliph Walid, came over to finiſh the conqueſt. According to the prudent policy of theſe conquerors, the only enthuſiaſts who united the ſpirit of toleration with the zeal for making proſelytes, offered the inhabitants their religion and laws, in conſideration of being paid the ſame ſubſidy which had uſually been paid to their ſovereigns: ſuch as embraced the Mahometan religion, were entitled to all their privileges. Oppas, the archbiſhop of Seville, was not aſhamed to join the Mahometans, and ſacrifice his country and religion to his hatred to Roderic Pelagius, a prince of the blood, retired to the mountains of Aſturias, with ſome followers, and founded a ſmall kingdom, which by his valour he tranſmitted to his poſterity.

A. D. 732.

The Saracens, unwilling to confine their ambition within the limits of the Pyrenees, made an attack upon Eudes, duke of Aquitaine, but without ſucceſs. Abderaman the new

new Emir or governor of Spain, in a ſecond irruption, did penetrate as far as Sens; repelled by biſhop Ebbo, he fell upon Aquitaine, vanquiſhed the duke, and advanced towards the heart of France. Between Poictiers and Tours, Charles Martel put a ſtop to his career, killing the Emir and, ſome accounts ſay, three hundred thouſand men. Spain was very miſerable under the Moors, on account of the civil wars amongſt their maſters. Another Abderaman, called alſo Almanſor, founded an independent kingdom, conſiſting of the provinces which had been ſubject to the caliphs, and fixed his reſidence at Cordoua, which became the ſeat of arts, magnificence and pleaſure. He had the policy and management almoſt to extinguiſh Chriſtianity in his dominions. No prince in Europe equalled him in wiſdom; nor any people the Arabs, in whatever tends to the aggrandizement of the ſoul. They had acquired a conſiderable ſhare of knowledge and politeneſs, while the reſt of mankind was ſunk in ignorance and barbariſm.

It was nearly the middle of the thirteenth century, before they were finally driven out of Spain, Portugal, and their iſlands in the Mediterranean.

OF THE

VARIOUS EXTENSIVE

WALLS AND ENTRENCHMENTS

WHICH HAVE BEEN

CONSTRUCTED BY THE ANCIENTS. *

THE Egyptians ſeem to have been the firſt people who thought of fortifying a country with a wall. From Heliopolis to Peluſium, a diſtance of nearly thirty leagues, they erected one againſt the Arabs; who, like Cambyſes and Alexander, had nothing to do but to take Peluſium to render

* Tranſlated from *Recherches Philoſophiques ſur les Egyptiens et les Chinois, par Mons. de Pauw.*

As this account is much connected with the Hiſtory of the Barbarian Nations, we have placed it here.

the wall of no Effect. Two others were afterwards made by Pharaoh Nectanebe and Chabrias, a Grecian general, who went to the aſſiſtance of the Egyptians, nearly in the ſame direction.

There was a wall much better imagined, built to ſhut up the valley of Libanus and Antilibanus, to exclude the Scenite Arabians from Phænicia.

The jews built a wall, from Joppa to Antipatris, of 150 ſtadia, to defend themſelves againſt Antiochus. In going from Joppa along the Mediterranean coaſt, there was a wall built ſurrounding the provinces of Pamphilia and part of Piſidia, which is now diſcoverable; it was intended as a ſurety againſt the Iſaurians, who were great robbers: no ancient author has written of it. In paſſing from thence to the centre of Aſia, is found the great wall of Media, reaching almoſt from the Tigris to the Euphrates. Xenophon is the only author who mentions the having ſeen it. The length was twenty paraſangays; it was a hundred greek feet high, and twenty in thickneſs. Artaxerxes added a ditch in front: it was meant, doubtleſs, to protect the ſouth-ſide of Babylonia, againſt the

the people of Armenia and Meſopotamia. Before we come to the *Van-ly* or great wall of China, there were formerly two walls, or chain of entrenchments, to environ that vaſt portion of the globe, called Scythia, and now Tartary.

Among the Hyrcanian deſerts was a canton of great beauty, called Margiana, with which Alexander was ſo well pleaſed as to reſolve to build a city in it, which he did not live to execute, but it was done by Antiochus, ſon of Seleucus Nicator, who ſurrounded the province with a wall, not leſs than forty-five leagues in length: Margiana is on the ſouth-eaſt of the Caſpian ſea.

In the forty-ſecond degree of N. latitude was the wall of Ilak, from mount Thalabeg to the valley of Allſhaſh, twenty leagues in length, for the defence of Toncat in Uſbec Tartary.

Of all the works conſtructed for defence againſt the Tartars, the wall of China, ſuppoſed to be built two thouſand years ago, is without contradiction the largeſt and the weakeſt; for in all theſe works,

works, as the grandeur increaſes the force diminiſhes. It was five hundred leagues according to ſome, not one hundred and ſixty as others ſay, which could be properly named a wall, being the only part of it, of brick and mortar; and one may conſider the whole as the moſt uſeleſs undertaking ſince the exiſtence of the Globe: for in declining beyond the fortieth degree of latitude, China may be entered witnout knowing that the province of Chienſi is envelloped with a wall.

The Ruſſians undertook a work of the ſame kind againſt the Tartars; from the neighbourhood of Toula in the government of Moſcow, to Sibriſki in Caſan, 144 leagues.

The great route of the Tartars being between the Euxine and the Caſpian ſeas, the entrances of mount Caucaſus were walled up, in the diſtrict of Souanis; the veſtiges of which remain. But the moſt conſiderable in that part of the world, was the wall of the Colchide, the great mart of trade of the Greeks and Phænicians on the eaſt-ſide of the Euxine, called Murus Validus, from its ſtrength;

ſtrength; yet Chardin could find no traces of it in 1672.

The Taurica Cherſoneſus, or Crimæa, was ſhut up by a wall in the ſame part were now there are lines; ſo that from the Boryſthenes to the extremity of Aſia, the inhabitants have endeavoured to ſhut out Tartary to the ſouth; but the Tartars have at all times entered in ſpite of this great chain of entrenchments. The paſtoral life, which ſome hiſtorians, who were not philoſophers, have called the true ſtate of innocence, excites to plunder more than any other; as all accounts of the followers declare, the name of Hord, or wandering tribe, being ſynonimous with that of robbers. The paſtoral life is in its nature, againſt every idea of a *jus gentium.*

The number of provincial fortifications in Europe are very great alſo; and if they are not as remarkable for their extent, they are nevertheleſs for their having been of as little uſe. The Athenian colonies ſhut up the Thracian Cherſoneſus, from Pactys to Cardia. Manuel Palæologus, and after him, the Venetians, ſhut up the Iſthmus of Corinth; but the Turks eaſily demoliſhed it.

There

There was a long wall alſo beyond Heraclea to Decron, occupying the ſpace from the Propontide to the Euxine. The emperor Valens ſhut up the entrance of mount Hæmus, between Thrace and Theſſaly.

There are ruins of a wall in Bulgaria, near Dryſta; and of another, called the wall of Valais, between the Rhone and the Burgberg, to ſhut out the Swiſs.

Agricola firſt built a wall in Britain, from the Clyde to the Firth of Forth, only thirty-two miles long. Hadrian took it in a wider part, and made one of eighty miles; which was repaired by Antoninus Pius and Severus: theſe firſt were probably no more than entrenchments. But under Valentinian the third, a wall was built of twenty feet in thickneſs. But this is nothing to that built in Germany, under Hadrian, from oppoſite Ober-weſel, and continued under the other emperors; the laſt branch of which went towards the Danube, was finiſhed by Probus. Another on the Rhine, oppoſite Bingen, through the county of Solmes to the Meine; it then traverſed the county of Holach, touched the Neckar, and ſo to Hall in Saubia, and terminated at Ratiſbonne; ſo that there

there was no paſſage between the Rhine and the Danube. Another is ſeen from Vidin to Peterwariden on the Danube.

The Normans, as they began to be known by the name of Danes, built what is called Danewerk, to ſhut the Saxons out of Jutland. They conſtructed a terrace to the Baltic, which was afterwards made a wall by Waldemar the Great. Such is the hiſtory of the greateſt and moſt uſeleſs works upon the ſurface of the ancient continent; for in proportion to the pains taken to make them ſtrong, the military ſtrength of all the countries reſpectively diminiſhed.

SELECTIONS

FROM

LES

RECHERCHES PHILOSOPHIQUES

SUR LES

AMERICAINS.

TRANSLATED

FROM THE FRENCH.

THIS Work of Monſieur De Pauw, who died in 1786, *has not been tranſlated into Engliſh. It is the labour of a perſon of uncommon abilities, and knowledge in the Phyſical Hiſtory of our Globe and its Inhabitants. A few ſubjects have been ſelected as worthy the notice of thoſe who have not ſeen the work, and have any taſte for diſquiſitions in Natural Philoſophy.*

OF THE

CLIMATE OF AMERICA

AND ITS

EFFECTS.

AT the time of the diſcovery of America, the climate was ſo unfavorable to quadrupeds, that they were found to be one ſixth leſs than on our hemiſphere. It was alſo very pernicious to the human kind, who were very defective in their organization.

The country either conſiſts of high pointed mountains, or is covered with marſhes and foreſts. The Spaniards were compelled to eat each other, and ſometimes the Americans. The French colonies were at

firſt

firſt in no better ſituation. The Engliſh who returned from Virginia, were mere ſhadows; and none would go again, till the thirſt of gold, which the reports foſtered, ſurmounted all obſtacles, and vanquiſhed nature herſelf.

In the ſouthern parts, and moſt of the iſlands, the lands were covered with corrupted ſtagnant waters, which the heat of the ſun fermented, and made very unwholſome. Thick fogs, charged with marine ſalt, occaſioned many poiſonous vegetables, unknown in the other three quarters of the globe. Many plants that are tender here, were found to be tough ſhrubs in that hemiſphere. Snakes, lizards, and reptiles of all kinds, were nouriſhed in a climate ſo congenial to them, and grew to a prodigious ſize. Cattepillars, bettles, frogs, and toads are ſeen at Surinam, and ſome other parts, of an aſtoniſhing ſize. Fleas, bugs, piſmires of different ſorts, muſkitoes or gnats, and in fine all kinds of thoſe vermin ſo diſguſting to human nature, ſwarm in all parts.

Mr. Dumont ſpeaks of frogs in Louiſiana, of thirty-ſeven pounds weight, which made as much noiſe as a calf.

The

The ounce, tiger, and lion, are ſmall and puſillanimous; wolves, and, in general, all quadrupeds are baſtardized in that country.

The earth and waters have a prodigious quantity of worms; thoſe that pierce our ſhips and are now in moſt of our rivers, are of American origin.

In the beſt accounts, taken from obſervations of Thermometers in different parts, it appears that the continent of America is twelve degrees colder than our hemiſphere. Quebec and Paris, Hudſon's bay and the Thames, are in equal latitudes; yet every one knows the extreme difference there is between them, as to cold.

Of all the animals carried from our hemiſphere, the hogs have done the beſt. The reſt have all been ſtunted in growth, or, in ſome other reſpects, received damage.

All the climates in America, where the Engliſh have ſettled, are, in a manner, totally changed, from the countries being cleared of wood, and drained of water.* Of

* Fifty years ago, they could ſcarcely grow wheat in Virginia; the ear did not fill. They now raiſe heavy good corn.

Of all the plants carried to America, rice, which ſucceeds beſt in humid ſoils, was the ſooneſt brought to perfection; but is the moſt improper to be encouraged there, becauſe the leaſt proper to purify the air: for which reaſon it is baniſhed out of France. The hot regions of Aſia may poſſibly correct this diſpoſition by the dryneſs of the air. Some alimentary plants have been brought from America, that have ſucceeded here wonderfully. Potatoes alone have been a treaſure. All ſucculent and aquatic plants have generally done well in America; melons, cabbages, and things of that kind ſurprizingly.

People, united in ſociety, have exiſted on our hemiſphere for time immemorial; who brought manners to perfection, cultivated the arts and ſciences, and were acquainted with the benefits attending ſocial intercourſe; raiſed handſome cities, domeſticated animals for uſe, and in every ſenſe ornamented the whole ſurface of the earth: whilſt in the oppoſite hemiſphere, nature was ſavage, the air thick and unwholeſome, foreſts without beginning or end; where the rays of the ſun had never penetrated; waters for ever fixed; the ſurface of the earth, inſtead of lands

lands ſmiling with corn and paſtures, was ſtrewed over with reptiles and inſects; with men, weak in body and mind; without a knowledge of forging iron, though they knew of the mines.

America contains about nine millions of ſquare miles according to Templeman, and in this prodigious ſpace, there were only two nations ſettled in political ſociety: the reſt were wanderers in ſmall herds over foreſts, with ſcarcely enough of ingenuity to procure food.

The difference between the Hemiſpheres is total, as great as can be imagined. To pretend that the human race were new in America, is inſupportable by argument. To ſay why there ſhould have been ſo many ages one before the other in improvement, or that nature was obliged to do her work by intervals, or why ſhe placed animals of a different kind there, and of a poſterior date, would lead us into obſcurity; ſince no new inſect or animal is found, and that the germs of all things are apparently as old as the planet.

It is equally difficult to ſay from whence

the inhabitants came, for there is not even the vague light of tradition to guide us: but the ſame is true indeed of every other nation on the face of the earth. We know, if we admit fables, the caſe may be made out; for the firſt chapter in the annals of all nations is Romance. It is poſſible that war and peſtilence might make a populous country a deſert; but from that we ought not to infer, that every deſert has never been inhabited. In ſome countries the climate might keep down population, ſo as to admit of a conſtant ſcarcity of inhabitants.

The firſt ſtate of every nation with which hiſtory is furniſhed, is that of ſavage. Each nation has the ſeeds of capability in them, but grope their way without rule or model to fix their conduct: for which reaſon the inſtitutions in civil life have been ſo various; being as often governed by climate, as by reaſon.

Some have never emerged from their infant ſtate. The Eſkimaux and Greenlanders have never cultivated the land, or built a houſe: the negroes have always been the ſame as now.

When

When a people are ſettled, they are half poliſhed; this can be done by agriculture alone; from this ſprings all notions of property, and whatever is neceſſary for civil life; and from this ſtandard we can meaſure the different degrees of moral perfection.

The cultivators are the firſt in order, becauſe their exiſtence is leſs precarious, and their way of life leſs turbulent: they have leiſure to invent and improve their inſtruments, to think and to reflect.

The Nomades, or paſtors of cattle follow next: they are obliged to tend their herds, and of courſe are never ſettled. The Tartars, Arabs, Moors, and Laplanders are of this kind; all of which are equidiſtant between the ſavage and the civil ſtate.

There are nations who nouriſh themſelves with the fruits of the earth without culture; ſome of which, are more at their eaſe than the others; all living in huts, made of the boughs of trees, or taking their reſt in trees.

The fourth claſs ſubſiſt by fiſhing: theſe are not different from the Nomades, except that

that they have not their tamed herds. Their reſource is in their dexterity, and at the hazard of their lives; but they are alike obliged to change their ground from time to time.

The hunters are the laſt claſs, and the moſt ſavage: wanderers, and uncertain of their daily ſubſiſtence, they dread an union with, and an increaſe of their fellow creatures, becauſe the game, whoſe fecundity is not like that of fiſh, decreaſes in proportion to the number of its enemies; every ſtep he ſets is to get away from ſocial life; his hut is for retreat, not for a lodging; always at war with man and beaſt, his inſtinct is ferocious; he is in human nature what the carniverous animal is to the grameniverous.

America may poſſibly have undergone a later deluge, from ſome natural convulſion, than that on our own hemiſphere; which obſervation may be countenanced by ſome monuments of deſtruction, and the natives from north to ſouth having a tradition of a deluge. If this is admitted, the difference between the appearance of the two hemiſpheres may well exiſt, when we conſider the effects of earthquakes and inundations.

Our

Our hemiſphere, from the long exertion of the ingenuity and induſtry of mankind, may well have the appearance of greater antiquity. From what we ſee in a particular diſtrict, from an unwholeſome ſituation, it is eaſy to conceive the phyſical evils that muſt befal a people dwelling in a corrupt air for ages. The effects from natural evaporation are ſlow, and at the ſame time unwholſone to animals and vegetables.

Monteſquieu argued that it was the fertility of the ſoil that chained men down to ſavage life; whereas, it is the want of ſubſiſtence that keeps them from riſing above it. The leaſt reflection on the ſtate of America when diſcovered, makes this quite plain: The natives were all fiſhers and hunters, and in no ſenſe like thoſe who ſit at the foot of a tree and have only to reach out their hand for ſuſtenance.

In ſome parts of America they have a knowledge of Maiz, or Indian corn; but the ground is ſterile. At the time that the north of Europe was in a ſavage ſtate, the inhabitants were, in a manner, immediately changed, as ſoon as Italy and Aſia had communicated a knowledge of their grains and fruits.

According

According to the richneſs of a country in vegetables, ſociety is more eaſily eſtabliſhed; from the ſouth of Aſia to Egypt, thence into Greece, from there to Italy, and ſo to the Gauls and Germans, this progreſſion is exactly agreeable to the phyſical fecundity of each country. If every thing were reſtored, there would remain to Germany ſcarcely any thing that could now be deemed an aliment.

The ancient Scythians were different ſavages from the American; they loved their women ardently, whilſt the Americans deſpiſe and are cruel to them. The latter are like the beaſts who aſſemble at ſeaſons, and ſeparate, each to ſeek for their food; they increaſe the evils of all kind that nature had loaded them with.

It is natural for thoſe in ſavage life to troop together, and to be the enemies of each other, in a great degree. Tartars, Arabs, Abyſſinians, Negroes, Caffres, all partake of this.

Wherever property is not fixed, men fight to prevent it, and where it is declared, men fight to maintain it; ſo that it is the greateſt

greateſt effort of virtue to love one another, which cannot be done, without pardoning many things. Where the wants of the ſame kind are always before the eye, it is eaſy to conceive how difficult it muſt be to be always juſt, and in peace; beſides the common misfortune is, that if the many are inclined to order, the avarice or wickedneſs of a few may throw the whole into blood and confuſion.

The Americans are alſo totally unlike the northern ſavages of our hemiſphere, who had a notion of freedom. The Americans in proportion to the intereſt they took in things belonging to them, were in the ſame manner diſtant from the incitement which attends a noble way of thinking. They thought of nothing but their exiſtence, and on all occaſions have behaved like robbers, who watch an opportunity to ſurprize and murder. Whereas the ſavages of our hemiſphere often defeated the braveſt and beſt diſciplined men in the world, in the open and fair trial of courage. Savage life is far from extinguiſhing courage in the heart of man. The timidity of the Americans, came from the cauſes we have mentioned,

The

The American, properly ſpeaking, is without the motive to be either wicked or virtuous; his timidity, weakneſs of mind, neceſſity to procure a maintenance in the midſt of ſcarcity, and the influence of climate, all produce an inſenſible indifference. His happineſs is in a vacuity of mind and inaction, to think of nothing when he has victuals, and when hungry, to provide it. He would have no hut, if the weather did not oblige him; he is a child to the laſt moment of his life; he foreſees nothing, improves nothing, naturally lazy, and revengeful through weakneſs. He is atrocious in that revenge, becauſe he has no ſenſibility; and having his life only to loſe, he looks upon his enemies as his murderers. If courage ſupported his vengeance, he would be the moſt terrible of brutes to the European, as he is to the tribes he is at war with; but a like deficiency of courage on both ſides, makes the wars eternal between them.

The Hurons and Iroquois were at war in 1523, and now continue it with the ſame implacable hatred and vengeance.

They ſhow the moſt reſpect and authority to their old men; but like the wild beaſts when

when their ſtrength is exhauſted they abandon them to periſh with hunger. This ingratitude, which affrightens us, is nevertheleſs a law of animal nature; intereſted for it's young whilſt growing, but indifferent when it can ſhift for itſelf.

Of the ANTHROPOPHAGI.

The Academicians at Paris inſulted L'Abbe du Clos in 1746, when he charged the Gauls with having been men-eaters; as if the human race were incapable of any thing ſo atrocious: not obſerving that even in a philoſophical age, there is nothing that men engage in with ſo much good will, as the being drawn up in lines and columns to deſtroy each other; for intereſts ſo mean and pitiful, that the object is forgotten before the war is half finiſhed. This is ſo hateful a ſubject that we ſhall not dwell upon it: but the accounts we have had from the South-Seas, ſhow the author to have formed a right conjecture of the ſavage nature of man. Theſe poor wretches are excuſable when their actions are compared with Autos de Fes, the maſſacre of Paris, and ſuch flagitious proceedings among people in a civilized ſtate.

The Americans have been charged with deſtroying incredible numbers in their human ſacrifices. The Scythians, Egyptians, Chineſe, Indians, Phenicians, Perſians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Gauls, Germans, Britons, Spaniards, Negroes, and Jews, have all ſacrificed mankind at their altars, and if they are not convicted of having eaten of the ſacrifice, it is probably intirely owing to the obſcurity of ſuch remote hiſtory.

OF SOME

EXTRAORDINARY CUSTOMS,

WHICH FORMERLY PREVAILED ON OUR

HEMISPHERE;

AND WHICH WERE FOUND AMONG THE

AMERICANS.

THE examination of cuſtoms ſo alike in ſuch different climates, and among nations which could have no knowledge of each other, proves that mankind is, as it were, predeſtinated to commit the ſame faults in whatever region of the globe it inhabits, and that there are ſome errors, however ſtriking the likeneſs, that cannot have been copied the one from the other; becauſe ſuperſtition, prejudices, ſelf-love, neglect

neglect of our fellow-creatures, ignorance of our duties, and all the paſſions, and all the vices, ought of neceſſity to produce the ſame effects, and by conſequence the ſame diſorders in ſocieties, who have never had any communication together.

That bloody and inſenſible cuſtom of interring living perſons with the deceaſed, was hardly aboliſhed amongſt the Gauls in the time of Julius Ceſar, which had been introduced by the Scythian colonies, wherever they fixed. We know it to have exiſted in ſeveral parts of ſouthern Aſia, and the coaſts of ſome parts of Africa. It was again found among the people of America, as well in the north as in the ſouthern parts.

Amongſt people ſo diſtant from each other, and ſeperated by ſuch inſurmountable barriers, we cannot reaſonably ſuppoſe they could have had any correſpondence, ſeeing they differ in ſo many other reſpects, and have almoſt no other reſemblance but in this atrocity.

Although it be poſſible that the adoption of this cruel ceremony among ſeveral different

ent nations, may not have originated from one and the ſame cauſe, yet there is much reaſon to conclude that the dogma of the reſurrection of the body in a life to come, has produced this ſingular misfortune, this deplorable error: that the idea of being ſerved in the other world by thoſe we have commanded in this, has been the motive for ſacrificing ſlaves at the tombs of their maſters, and wives upon the bodies of their huſbands. So we may obſerve in the relation of theſe homicides, that they are ever moſt frequent at the funerals of kings and ſovereigns.

On the coaſt of Guinea they inter only the wives of the grandees with their huſbands bodies: thoſe of a middle and very inferiour ſtation are denied this privilege. At the funeral of Tuinpong, king of Akin, as ſays Mr. Roemer in his Relation of 1764, they buried with him three hundred of his wives, and a much greater number of ſlaves. Some have conjectured that the Pyramids of Egypt were conſtructed for the purpoſes of ſhutting up the principal officers of the Pharoahs, that they might attend the dead bodies during the remainder of their lives.

For

For the ſimple individuals of Egypt, they were content to put a ſmall piece of gold or ſilver under the tongue, or upon the breaſt, which is ſtill found in the mummies.

The wife who has children amongſt the Eaſt-Indians, is not ſuffered to burn herſelf with her huſband; and, as they allow of polygamy, it is the moſt beloved wife that the law ordains to periſh with her huſband. From which, one may infer with certainty, that the ridiculous pretenſion of enjoying the ſame pleaſure in her ſociety in the other world, has been the cauſe of adopting this cruel folly.

It is here worth obſerving, two horrible contradictions in the ſyſtem of the ancient Brachmans and modern Bramins. They are to a degree of furor attached to the doctrine of Metempſychoſis, or a tranſmigration of the ſoul out of one body into another; from whence they conclude, that they ought not to deprive a fly, or any thing that breathes, of its life, and yet, with the greateſt ſolemnity, order the burning of wives with their huſbands. One cannot imagine an extravagance comparable with this; nor can one conceive how they pretend to rejoin their wives in a life

to

to come, whilſt they maintain that ſouls are carried about without repoſe, from one body into that of another, at the inſtant of the deſtruction of the animated being: for according to them, the ſoul of the huſband may enter into the embrio of a mouſe, and the ſoul of the wife into that of a cat; ſo that the Indous, who ought not to burn their wives if they would be conſequent with their principles, are the only ſouthern Aſiatics who have obſtinately retained this abominable cuſtom. It has been ſaid, that they pay annually a tribute to the Great Mogul, and to the Nabobs and Mahometan Rajahs, for permiſſion to commit theſe homicides, in which they tranſgreſs the poſitive precept of their Vedam.

In the academical memoirs of Mr. Freret it is maintained, that the Gauls never ſacrificed human victims, becauſe, ſays he, it is in contradiction to the dogmas handed down to us by Ceſar, Strabo, and Diodorus; but this one example of the Indous ſhow, that religious dogmas and theological ſyſtems may be in direct oppoſition to practice and cuſtom: there is no reaſon therefore, why the Germans ſhould not have been as abſurd as the orthers.

In

In the travels of Tavernier, Thevenot de Bernier, and Chardin, we find, that they give to theſe miſerable victims of ſuperſtition, a beverage of a ſtrong infuſion of ſaffron, nightſhade, grian of green hemp, and other narcotics, by ſtupefaction, to deſtroy the horrid appearance of death. They ſeize the inſtant of the delirium, which theſe potions often excite, to precipitate the women into the flames; and to this trick of the Bramins and Faquirs, we muſt attribute the relations of joy and chearfulneſs which theſe unfortunate wretches are ſaid to expreſs at the time and place of execution. It is really aſtoniſhing that the North-Americans ſhould obſerve the ſame cuſtom towards the wives and ſlaves ſacrificed at the death of their caciques or chieftains; they uſe tobacco leaves bruiſed and made into a paſte, which they give to ſwallow to thoſe intended for execution; they afterwards give them water to drink, which, in diluting the tobacco hurries them into a complete delirium; ſo ingenious are men in their wanderings from reaſon, where they have been unable to ſurmount nature by force, they have done it by artifice.

In the 16th century, there aroſe a diſpute

pute between Gariclaſſo de Vega and ſome other Spaniſh authors of the hiſtory of Peru, whether the Incas cauſed theſe great numbers of ſlaves and concubines to be executed by force. The former inſiſts, it was the choice of the ſufferers, and even that many have been refuſed this privilege by the etiquette of the court, which would admit only ſo many: and he ſeems to have reaſon on his ſide, if we conſider the extreme contempt of life amongſt the Peruvians. Beſides all depends upon the perſuaſion, more or leſs, of thoſe who devote themſelves. If they believe firmly and with enthuſiaſm, that they ſhall ariſe and accompany their maſter again, and their friends; why may they not be ſeen to go to death, with the ſame alacrity as thoſe obſcure men, pretended martyrs, did formerly, who ran to the ſcaffolds with the opinion of ſalvation, for having had the good fortune to be able to inſult the ſtatues of Venus and Mercury?

It is certain that the Indians of North America uſe tobacco in theſe ſolemnities; having been aſcertained by ſome French among the Natches of Louiſiana in 1725. The French who occupied a great part of that

country, could not prevail, either by entreaties or menaces, to prevent a maſſacre that attended the obſequies of a chieftain, who died that year. They deſtroyed no leſs than thirteen of both ſexes, without counting an infant which they threw to be trod to death by thoſe who carried the bier, on which repoſed the body of the cacique. Two of his wives, though old and decrepid, and five of his domeſtics, were diſpatched to keep him company in the grave. After many fooliſh and tireſome ceremonies, theſe poor wretches were made to ſit down, and the tobacco balls abovementioned, were adminiſtered. During the time that the effect from them ſhould be produced, the aſſembly betook themſelves to dancing and ſhouting in the moſt outrageous manner. Each patient had his head enveloped in a deer's-ſkin; over his neck was paſſed a cord with a running knot; two were employed to hold it from ſlipping, and three others pulled the other end till they had ſtrangled them; they then buried the bodies in a ditch with the cacique. Mr. le Page imagines, that if the French had not been there ſome days before this execution, that many more would have ſuffered; from which

which one may judge of the carnage made by the ancient Mexicans and Peruvians. If the chief of a ſmall horde exacted thirteen or fourteen perſons for pleaſures and ſervice in the other world, they ought to deſtroy thouſands to form the ſuite of the Incas and predeceſſors of Montezuma, who commanded the people of ſuch vaſt countries.

It may be well ſuppoſed that intereſt guides the Bramins in the encouragement given to burning the widows, as it is well known they procure the remainder of their ornaments, earings, bracelets, &c. after the fire is extinguiſhed.

The doctrine of the reſurrection of the body, has been more generally ſpread in Europe, Aſia, and Africa, than has been ſuſpected by hiſtorians; ſeeing we do not know much of any ancient nation that has not put into the tombs, by the ſide of dead bodies, arms, kitchen utenſils, ſomething to drink or eat, pieces of money, lights, or, in ſhort, ſomething for the uſe of the manes; which proves inconteſtably that they believed in a future ſtate. This may ſerve to reſolve a queſtion of little conſequence indeed, but which

which has however been much agitated, upon the ſentiments of the ancient Jews, touching the reſurection; although one cannot conceive why an œconomical precept, ſo eſſential as that concerning interment, ſhould be ommitted in the books of Leviticus and Deutronomy, where the detail, in other reſpects, is ſo very diſtinct as to forbid the eating the thighs of a hare. The Hebrew writers ſay, in another place, that the bodies of Jacob and Joſeph were embalmed, and that their bodies had lain forty days in the Natron or Nitre: from whence we may infer, that thoſe who buried in this ſoil, adhered to the dogma of the reſurrection, then believed by the Egyptians, from whom the Jews borrowed much of their religious ſyſtem, without which they could never have had the cuſtom in Paleſtine of embalming; though their poverty afterwards, ſays the Rabbin Jacob, obliged them to make ſome alterations. There is a great appearance of their having anciently put pieces of money into ſepulchres; as Flavius Joſephus ſays it was a received opinion, that when David was buried, conſiderable ſums were interred with him. How ſhould this cuſtom obtain, this foreſight reſpecting the deceaſed, if it did not ariſe from an idea of

of a life to come, purely material, and which the chriſtians have manifeſtly drawn from the ſynagogue. The Sadduceens, who denied a reſurrection, were a new ſect, who were accuſed of attacking an old ſyſtem, univerſally believed.

We ought not to count among the dangerous conſequences that the dogma of the reſurrection has carried with it, the cuſtom of burying live infants with the dead body of the mother, as is practiſed among the Onontagos, in the Iſtmus of Darien, and ſome other parts of America. This atrocity has its riſe in the deplorable conſtitution of a ſavage life, where no one is willing or able to charge himſelf with the bringing up of orphans at the breaſt: they murder them, therefore, to prevent their death by ſtarving. The charity of the ſavage extends no further. So much does mankind loſe by the want of civilization.

After having conſidered the revolting and frightful ceremonials of funerals of ſo many nations of the two continents, we will examine a whimſical cuſtom with reſpect to mourning, and of which it is impoſſible to find

find out the cauſe. It conſiſts in cutting off the joint of a finger when one loſes the huſband, wife, or ſome other near relation. The Scharos of Paraquai, the Guaranos, and many other people of America, have made theſe amputations ſo frequently, that men and women have been met who had only five or ſix fingers intire on both hands; which gave riſe to the firſt accounts of theſe people, that they had naturally but three fingers on each hand.

The miſſionaries who are intereſted in preſerving their ſlaves from mutilation, have ſtopt this cuſtom in the parts of South America where they have any direction: but in California, where there are great tribes in a ſavage ſtate, they ſtill adhere to it, and have a marvellous facility in curing theſe wounds, which in Europe would be looked upon as dangerous from the repetitions.

It remains now to indicate a nation on our continent, who have practiſed this impertinent cuſtom; and if one ſhould be diſcovered, it may be averred, that the inhabitants of the two hemiſpheres, however widely different in many reſpects, have met

in

in two of the greateſt abſurdities, that the human mind could conceive and execute.

Mr. de Loubere of the French academy, is the firſt that has obſerved this cuſtom among the Caffres, during his ſtay at the Cape of Good-Hope, on his return from Siam. He ſays, that when the Hottentots loſe their huſbands or wives, they cut off the joint of a finger; ſo that by inſpection of their hands, one may ſee whether they are widowers or widows, and how often. The Dutch have ſucceeded in perſuading the Hottentots to deſiſt from theſe cruel amputations, ſo hurtful to the living and uſeleſs to the dead; and alſo of the cuſtom they had of depriving themſelves of one of their teſticles.

In the treatiſes upon the funerals of the ancients, we ſee, that the Romans cut off a finger of a dead body, that place and circumſtance hindered them to inter with the uſual ceremony, and with this detached member they practiſed many ſuperſtitious ceremonies; but this can never have given riſe to the cuſtom among the Hottentots, who ſo far from

from having any notions of the religious rights of the Romans, know nothing of the Mahometan, although they have Mahometans on the eaſt and weſt ſides of their continent. Much leſs reaſon is there to ſuſpect their having had any connection with the Californians; for no two people are better ſeperated: placed on the north and ſouth of the two extremities of the world, the whole globe is between them. If widows only uſed this mutilation, we might infer, that the ſavages inflicted this cruelty upon them, to prevent their putting themſelves off for virgins in a ſecond marriage, to a perſon ignorant of their firſt engagement.

A cuſtom leſs bloody, but full as ridiculous is found among many nations in America: were the huſband takes to his bed whilſt his wife lies in. In this poſture he feigns himſelf ſick, groans, and takes great care of himſelf, receives the viſits of his friends, who come rather to pity than compliment him. When this was firſt known in France, they ſaid, according to cuſtom, how could the people in America be ſo mad? without knowing that the ſame abſurdity has been,

been, and is even now practiſed in the Canton of Bern, where it is called *faire convade*: it is more than probable they got the cuſtom from Spain, where it obtained in the time of Strabo. The huſband took the wife's place as ſoon as ſhe was delivered, and the wife came and miniſtered to him as if in ſickneſs; and this is obſerved among the Braſilians and many people in America, where the women think of nothing ſo much, after their labour, as tending upon the huſband. Marc Paul aſſures us that he has ſeen the ſame practice among many tribes of independant Tartars. It was a cuſtom in Corſica, and formerly in Spain. So that this cuſtom has made the tour of the globe; ſince we can trace it from the river of Saint Laurence to the Pyrenean Mountains; and indeed it ought to have had a full ſucceſs, being in it's nature too ridiculous to be diſpleaſing to the human mind. When theſe barbarians have been queſtioned upon the motives of their conduct, they anſwer, that they do it to re-eſtabliſh their ſtrength, which ſuffers by their becoming a father.

We know that at all times the eclipſe of

the ſun and moon have frightened the ignorant and ſuperſtitious, and we know that the Greeks and Romans, during the time of the obſcurities, made all the noiſe they could invent, with pans, kettles, and every inſtrument capable of adding to the loud rough ſounds. It is very extraordinary to find that all the authors of the hiſtory of Peru, agree in the Peruvians making the like diſturbance, in a like circumſtance; getting together all the inſtruments of noiſe they can collect, and even whip their dogs, that by their howlings they may add to the horrid din. The ſame is practiſed in India, among the followers of the Bramin doctrine, who not content with noiſe, go to the river Ganges, to bathe, break there earthen-ware, and practiſe ſo many contorſions, that they appear quite mad.

It is not eaſy to know how ſo many nations, at ſo great diſtances from each other, ſhould agree in a cuſtom, which is far from a natural incitement; for the deprivation of light is triſtful, and would rather produce ſtillneſs than noiſe, as we ſee in all the animals in the field, who retire to the trees and hedges during the obſcurity. It muſt be

be that the Romans, Indous and Peruvians, had ſome ideas conformable upon the nature of the ſun and moon. They muſt have taken theſe globes for animated beings, which, during the eclipſe, they conſidered in a ſtate of ſleeping, or ſtupefaction, which befell them in their courſe, and which they were deſirous of relieving; ſince if they feared their falling, as ſome writers pretend, they could never conclude that making a noiſe ſhould ſtop the fall of thoſe vaſt bodies; nor does the notion that they might imagine the ſun and moon to be engaged in combat, give any better ſolution of the matter. It is indeed more probable that they thought them to be animated beings rather than dead matter; an inert repoſe being more natural to mere matter, than motion. It is not ſurpriſing that in thoſe times of blindneſs, they ſhould be ignorant of the inviſible power of the firſt mover of thoſe enormous maſſes in the vaſt ſpace of the firmament, ſince men have never been able, nor even can know why thoſe globes have been created, and to what they ſerve.

The moral and phyſical evils, ſpread ſo plentifully over our planet, ſcarcely permit

us

us to believe that the others ſurrounding us are exempt from them.

All that has been ſaid of burying the living with the dead; of the amputation of fingers; of huſbands bedrid on account of their wives being in labour; and of the ceremonies during eclipſes, prove that the errors in phyſical matters, have never carried with them very great abuſes, whilſt the errors in morality, after debaſing reaſon, have frequently ſaturated the earth with blood.

OF THE

USE OF POISONED ARROWS,

BY THE

PEOPLE

OF

BOTH HEMISPHERES.

Ungere tela manu ferrumque armare veneno.

VIRG.

The flying arrow and the ſword, would ſtop the breath,
But with malicious art, they hide a poiſoned death.

THE uſe of envenomed arms is of the higheſt antiquity: it was known in Aſia ſome years before Alexander; in Italy before the foundation of Rome; and in America

rica we know not how long before the arrival of Columbus. The Count de Fogeda was the firſt European killed in America with a poiſoned arrow, as he was picking gold-duſt on the banks of a river.

This fatal ſecret has in all ages preceded the uſe of iron. When they found that darts, headed with ſtone, teeth, and horn, were weapons too weak to make head againſt the wild beaſts, they had recourſe to poiſon, which at firſt was uſed againſt them only, but in the courſe of time they employed thoſe poiſoned weapons in their national wars.

There have been nations who uſed theſe arms againſt wild beaſts and not in battle; ſuch were the Gauls in Cæſar's time. The Indians uſed them againſt Alexander, but without putting any ſtop to his carreer; neither does it appear that they have been of conſequence enough to protect any nation from ſubjection, or to have ſubjected others. The Tapuias and Carribs of America uſed them much in their ancient wars, but without great effect; for the latter were obliged to leave the continent and take refuge in the iſlands.

The

The inhabitants of the Molucca iſles, with their ſtilettos and poiſoned darts, have never been able to ſhake off the dominion of the Portugueſe, Spaniards and Dutch. The Sardi and the Moors, ſo famous for their poiſoned arms, became, one after the other, the ſlaves of the Roman Empire. It is probable, that the Romans had a ſpecific againſt the bad effects of the arms of the barbarians; for although thoſe counterpoiſons mentioned by Pliny the Naturaliſt on that account, are certainly inefficacious, one may ſee, nevertheleſs by a paſſage in Celſus, that they knew at that time how to make a ſenſible diminution in the activity of the poiſon by ſucking the wounds. This is conformable to the preſent practice, and requires nothing but courage to prove it.

The preparation to poiſon arrows is almoſt always drawn from vegetables, rarely from animals, and never from minerals; which proves that Dr. Mead was miſtaken when he ſaid, that poiſons drawn from minerals ſurpaſſed all others in force and malignity. In America they make uſe of a ſhrub, and two different trees, the moſt dangerous is the Mancanilier, or vegetable Hippomanes

of

of Brown; it is moſt common in the Antilles, Porto-Rico, and ſome of the coaſts of America. The leaves contain a lacteous ſubſtance, which tranſpires in the heat of the day; it is then dangerous to handle either its fruit or branches: when the ſun is off, one may examine the tree and fruit; it is however very unſafe to ſleep under it, leſt a dew ſhould fall upon you, after having paſſed over the leaves, and particularly if in bloſſom.

The Savages cover their faces, when they make inciſions in the tree to come at the juice, leſt they ſhould be blinded by any of it accidentally finding its way into their eyes. The Africans uſe the ſame caution in extracting the liquid gum from the Euphorbier. The Indians place ſhells at the foot of the Mancanilier to collect the dropping juice, in which they dip the points of their arrows, which have been found to ſuffer no decreaſe in the virulence of the poiſon after one hundred and fifty years, but gave the moſt ſudden death to any animal upon the leaſt wound or ſcratch. After failing in ſeveral attempts, the Europeans, at length, through the means of an Indian child about ten years

years of age, found that a ſmall quantity of ſalt ſwallowed, or two or three glaſſes of ſea-water, is an infallible counterpoiſon; and ſince that, the ſalt of viper, and hartſhorn, is ſtill better.

The other tree is the Liane or Bejuque, in the province of Guiana, called *Curare*. They ſlice the roots in autumn, and boil them ſlowly in a kettle till they produce a ſtrong ſyrup: as there is great danger from the effluvia entering the noſe or mouth, which would often be mortal, the Indians always employ ſome decrepid old woman. They try the force of the poiſon by dipping the arrow which has been infected, into new drawn blood; if the coagulation is not immediate, they continue to boil the ſtuff till it is thicker. This poiſon will laſt about three years, and kill in three minutes. They uſe arrows which are diſcharged with a bow, and others that they blow through a tube. It is very remarkable, this cuſtom of blowing envenomed darts through tubes, practiſed in South America, has been time immemorial in uſe in the ſouthern parts of Aſia; as well on the continent, as in the iſlands. The ſavage moiſtens the dart with

ſpittle before he puts it into his mouth; but the poiſon has no effect when it mixes with the blood, which turns in the ſame manner as vinegar acts upon milk; and this ſudden coagulation is the cauſe of ſudden death. Aqua-fortis ſquirted into the veins would have the ſame effect in about two minutes.

One may judge that game is not hurtful to eat that is killed by theſe weapons, ſince the action of the poiſon is only in fixing the blood. The ſymptoms on the human body are the ſame as thoſe attending the bite of a viper, or other ſerpent; a ſwelling, and livid marbled ſpots on the ſkin. The ſwelling is from the blood being ſtopt in the great veſſels and the other circumſtances, from the yellow lymph introducing itſelf into the capillary veſſels. If a monkey on a tree is ſtruck with a dart from one of theſe tubes, he will be dead before he comes to the ground; and a tyger will only make two or three turns and die.

Sugar taken from the cane, has been found a remedy againſt a wound from an arrow poiſoned with the Bejuque, at Cayenne; but had not the ſame effect in Holland. It is aſtoniſhing

aſtoniſhing that there is no lacteous vegetable in nature, that, in a certain doſe, would not act as a poiſon on mankind, whilſt there is no animal which gives milk, that would, in any quantity, be hurtful; even our fig-trees, that produce ſo ſweet a fruit, contain a lacteous corroſive ſubſtance, two or three ſpoonfuls of which would infallibly kill a perſon.

Bontius deſcribes the Lizard Geccho to furniſh the people of the iſland of Java with poiſon for their darts; that they hang the animal up by the tail, whip, and irritate it till it vomits a yellow viſcous matter, which they catch in pans, and being put in the ſun, it ferments and coagulates. A brother of Tavernier relates, that, about the year 1660, Sumbaco, a king of Macaſſar, ſhewed him the effects of theſe darts upon an Engliſhman who had committed a murder there; he permitted him to do all in his power to ſave the man after receiving the wound; he accordingly provided two ſurgeons, an Engliſh and a Dutchman. The king aſked where he ſhould hit him; the great toe on the right foot was fixed upon, which he hit with a preciſion more becoming an executioner than

than a king. The ſurgeons immediately ran in, and cut off the toe in an inſtant; as ſoon as the amputation could be well compleated, the man died in convulſions. If the ſurgeons had burned the part after the amputation, it might poſſibly have ſaved the man's life. The king had a remedy for the infection from his poiſonous darts and arrows; and it is an axiom, that all nations, whether poliſhed or ſavage, have known the preſervative againſt the poiſoned weapons they uſe.

The ancient Barbarians of India collected a great quantity of venemous reptiles, which were pounded and expoſed to the ſun in pans; and from thence they extracted a virus to envenom the points of their arrows. The modern Indians uſe the *terre-mérile*, or long cucurma, againſt the bite of the Geccho: it is equally good againſt the viper, in the Braſils called *cobra de capello*; both of which, from their bite, produce a true jaundice, but of a very violent kind; it will alſo cure the common jaundice.

OF THE

EGYPTIANS

AND THE

CHINESE.

TRANSLATED FROM

LES

RECHERCHES PHILOSOPHIQUES

SUR LES

EGYPTIENS

ET LES

CHINOIS.

By MONS. DE PAUW.

THE Author, Mr. De Pauw, undertook this Work to ſhow the little conformity there is between the people of China and thoſe of Egypt, in oppoſition to ſome ſtrange aſſertions, that they were of the ſame ſtock.

The Chineſe are without doubt of Scythian origin; the Egyptians from Ethiopia. It is impoſſible for two Nations to reſemble each other leſs, which the Author has proved in a vaſt variety of circumſtances the moſt deciſive. We have given his Preliminary Diſcourſe, from which the reader will have a tolerable idea of the work.

OF THE

EGYPTIANS

AND THE

CHINESE.

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

I ſhall conſider in this work, in what the ancient Egyptians reſembled the modern Chineſe, and in what they have differed.

In order to underſtand things thoroughly,

I ſhall go into great diſcuſſions ; for by paying too much reſpect to appearances, there is great riſk of being deceived.

The conformity that ſome have thought they diſcovered between two people ſo diſtant, may be very deceitful to thoſe, who, inſtead of making enquiries, make ſyſtems.

Many obſervations will be made that are proper to let us underſtand the manners, cuſtoms, and even the phyſical conſtitution, and the maladies of the two nations, which are in all reſpects ſo very peculiar, and which are much leſs underſtood in the eighteenth century than one could believe. Many difficulties ariſe in ſtudying the monuments of Egypt, and the accounts of China, where nothing is more common than contradictions. It is lucky that travellers have contradicted each other, which makes the conviction of their impoſitions eaſier. Theſe contradictions are above all to be imputed to their want of capacity to deſcribe the arts, trades, their food, and all thoſe objects which are eſſential to the philoſopher, who ſeeks to know the two nations.

The

The ſyſtem formed by the Egyptians, relative to their food, deſerves particular attention. In laying this open, by the means of natural hiſtory, one ſees, at firſt ſight, that the whole was totally unknown to the Chineſe; in ſuch a manner, that if the Chineſe do now make uſe of the artificial incubation of eggs, it is by mere chance that in this reſpect they reſemble ancient Egypt, where it was, one may ſay, connected with the regimen of the Sacerdotal claſs. But what merits a yet greater attention, is, the chain of the phyſical and moral cauſes, which have kept the arts and ſciences in an eternal infancy in China. When they ſpeak of their antiquity, they ſay that they have known the art of cutting and poliſhing marble more than 4000 years; and, notwithſtanding they have never made one handſome figure, there is no doubt that they have for a long time handled the painting bruſh in the ſame manner they do now, nevertheleſs, their painters do not ſeem to have equalled their ſculptors. For the reſt, the ſmall progreſs they have made in the arts, does not bring them below the other people of Southern Aſia, and Africa; but

what

what places them below all poliſhed people, is their ignorance in aſtronomy.

The Japaneſe, the Indous and the Turks, make their almanacs without any foreign aſſiſtance; and the Chineſe, who think they have obſerved the ſtars for ſo many ages, cannot make a good almanac. That which is diſagreeable, is, what has often happened and probably may again; that they have, by a falſe intercalation, made the year to conſiſt of thirteen months inſtead of twelve. There was a memorable inſtance of this in the year 1670, when no perſon, through the whole extent of the empire, found out the error, except ſome Europeans who were by chance at Pekin, and by thoſe means acquired the character of great philoſophers, becauſe they made it clear, that there was a ſupernumerary month ſlipt into the year, which they determined to retrench, and puniſh with death the unfortunate calculator, who had inſerted this ſmall fault in his Ephemeris. This was joining atrocious cruelty to groſs ignorance; for after all, an aſtronomer who makes the year to conſiſt of thirteen months, does not deſerve to be beheaded. The

new

new edition of 45,000 Tangſio, or correct calendars, three thouſand of which they ſent into each province, ſufficiently repaired all the miſchiefs.

At that time, and for more than two hundred years, ſome men whom they took for Arabs, but who were Mahometans born in China, filled the mathematical tribunal, if we may give ſuch a name to a kind of academy compoſed of Mahometans. Nevertheleſs, the Chineſe, in ſpite of their intolerable pride, addreſſed themſelves to theſe pretended Arabs to get calendars from them; without which, they would not have known within twenty-nine or thirty days nearly, when they had the new year, or feaſt of the Lanterns; and they would not know it now, if they did not pay a German Jeſuit, named Hallerſtein, who calculates and predicts their eclipſes, and who is at length the preſident of the tribunal of mathematics, where ſince the expulſion of the Mongul Tartars, there has never been one of the long robe, who had comprehenſion of any one problem of Euclid.

It may be ſaid, that it is aſtoniſhing that father

father Verbieſt, who had for a long time that employ that father Hallerſtein has now, has not been able to inſtruct ſome young Chineſe in the firſt elements of aſtronomy, at leaſt. But this is not ſo eaſy as one may imagine, nor perhaps poſſible. I know it has been ſuſpected, that the Jeſuits keep the Chineſe in ignorance to preſerve their credit in the court of Pekin; but the truth is, that Verbieſt had not all the cleverneſs that ſome have imagined, ſeeing he made a miſtake in taking the latitude of Pekin, which error was inſerted in the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, where it has been ſince corrected.

It muſt be here obſerved, that father Gaubil took great pains to convince the learned of Europe, that the ancient Chineſe had been very enlightened, but their deſcendants, inſenſibly degraded, were fallen into the darkeſt ignorance,* which is not only falſe but impoſſible even. If the aſtronomers who lived under the Dynaſty of Hans, had determined the true figure of the earth in their writings, we ſhould not ſome years after ſee other

* Hiſtorie Abre. de l'Aſtron. Chin. Tome II.

other Chineſe Aſtronomers, who ought to be acquainted with theſe writings, maintain that the earth is ſquare. So, in the year 1505, they had no idea of the latitude or longitude of any of their cities: for when one makes the earth ſquare, the abſurdities which follow are not eaſily reckoned.

It is really laughing at the world, to ſay that ſuch a people wrote their annals with the aſtrolabe in their hands, to verify, as the enthuſiaſts give out, the hiſtory of the earth by that of the heavens.

Under the Dynaſty of the Moguls, there were ſome learned men of Balk, who were invited to make almanacs, as the Jeſuits have been ſince for the ſame purpoſe; but it was theſe learned men who calculated, moſt probably, ſame obſervations and eclipſes which the Chineſe have inſerted in the late editions of their books; for it is known that they are often obliged to renew the editions on account of the bad quality of their paper, which ſpoils there worſe than in Europe, in ſpite of all the efforts they uſe with muſk to drive away the moths and worms. But whether the Chineſe have not been able to comprehend the tables made for them, or whether

ther they have been ill tranſlated, it is certain that the eclipſes have been found to be erroneous; and it it is known that Mr. Caſſini, in examining the obſervations of a winter ſolſtice, very much celebrated in the Chineſe tables, diſcovered an error of more than 497 years.*

It was theſe men of the Bactrian who made ſome inſtruments and globes for the Chineſe, of which they have never been able to make any uſe, and far from being any inſtruction to them, they have precipitated them into an error ſo ſingular, that it has never been heard of before amongſt any people in the world. I ſhall explain this fully when ſpeaking of their architecture, and of their pretended obſervations at Pekin and Nankin.

It is without doubt to be wiſhed, that the common opinion entertained of the Chineſe in Europe, had been well founded. One might believe that having been unſucceſsful in the ſciences, which depend immediately upon genius, they have directed all their efforts towards a ſcience that depends entirely upon reaſon, namely morality. Some have dared

* Mem. de l'Acad. de Sciences de Paris. Tome VIII.

red to assure us, that they have carried morals to a degree of perfection that it was impossible to reach in Europe: but I am sorry that after taking the utmost pains I have not been able to find the least vestige of this sublime philosophy, and I do not think that I could want penetration in so essential a point.

It is not in the murder of their infants, such as are daily committed in all the cities of China, from Canton to Pekin, that the progress of morals can consist; neither can it exist in the castration of thousands of boys in a year, that in the last conquest so terribly shocked the Manduis Tartars, whom we improperly call Mancheaux. It is certain, without speaking here of Polygamy, that one cannot discover the true notions of natural right in the domestic slavery, as it is established in China, where they reduce so many men, born free, to the condition of beasts: for the Chinese like the Negroes can sell their children. Neither have their legislators ever had the least idea of the bounds of parental authority. It will be seen in the course of this work, that this has been a stumbling block that no legislature of antiquity has known how to avoid: but an error of the an-

cient legiſlators, however general, can in no wiſe juſtify the Chineſe, who we cannot conſequently compare with the Europeans who have deſtroyed ſlavery amongſt them, and diſcovered the true limits of parental authority, which is the maſter-piece of legiſlation.

There remains, after this, the extreme honeſty of the Chineſe merchants, who aſſuredly are great moraliſts, for at the entrance of their ſhops is *Pou-Hou*: as much as to ſay, we cheat nobody here. They would never have thought of writing this, if they had not determined before hand to cheat all the world; and their very children know that they have falſe meaſures and falſe ſcales, and if they are taken away to day they have new ones to morrow. They have never conceived till lately, in Europe, why the Chineſe merchants ſhould be ſuch cheats, nor why there ſhould be ſuch ſwarms of robbers who lay waſte the provinces: nevertheleſs, theſe things, which ſeem to have an intimate connection, proceed from different cauſes.

As to the learned men of this country, it appears ſtrange enough that they ſhould let their finger nails grow, leſt they ſhould be miſtaken for men who work; nevertheleſs they

they are far enough from being ſo learned as to derive any nobility from thence. Can it be, that in the true principles of morality that they diſcovered that the earth diſhonours thoſe who cultivate it? this is doubtleſs a great contraſt with that ceremony of the emperor's ploughing a field in the eyes of the Europeans, who have a falſe idea of that ceremony. Wherever the emperor of China paſſes, every perſon is obliged to ſhut himſelf up in his houſe, on pain of death, leſt he ſhould ſee him; and this prohibition is not taken off, as has been thought on the day of ploughing, where it is tranſacted before ſome of the courtiers with great pomp. They gild the horns of the cattle and the plough ſhare; ſo that this pomp is reckoned amongſt the cauſes, which have determined thoſe they call the learned, not to cut their nails. When afterwards ſuch men talk of breaking up grounds we can have no confidence in their maxims; and there are many uncultivated lands in China, which have not been cultivated of long ſtanding. It is a madneſs in theſe hiſtory makers to pretend that there is not an inch of ground in the whole extent of the empire that is not improved, whilſt in the interior provinces there

there is ſcarcely a ſhadow of culture, which is the cauſe of thoſe frequent famines and misfortunes of which I ſhall ſpeak: for my buſineſs is not with the European opinions of China, but to cite facts.

On the other hand, theſe learned men are generally enough ſuſpected of having impoſed hiſtories and books upon the world, as the works of Confuſius, which he could not have read; and it may be credited, for his honour's ſake, that the book attributed to him, the *Tchun-Sieou*, or Spring and Autumn, is none of his. It is a little miſerable chronicle of the kings of Lou, where one muſt not look for the philoſophical underſtanding, the ſtyle, or manner of the great Greek and Latin hiſtorians, nor even of our modern: there is nothing of that kind. I do not ſay that it would be a crime to counterfeit a moral treatiſe under the name of Socrates or Theophraſtus, for if the maxims are good, it is of little conſequence who was the author. But it is not ſo of hiſtorical monuments; thoſe who change them are as culpable as if they altered a title-deed.

For

For the reſt, I have no deſire to inſinuate with ſome learned men, that all the annals of China, anteriour to our era, are fictitious. I inſiſt, that they reaſon badly who ſay, that all the Chineſe hiſtorians are liars becauſe the aſtronomers have been ignorant and failed in their proofs; ſince a hiſtory, whatever it may be, has no need to be verified by aſtronomical obſervations. I venture to aſſert, that the obſervations may be falſe, and that the hiſtory in which they are inſerted may be true. Mezerai, who knew about as much of the matter as the Chineſe, has deſcribed an eclipſe, which has been examined in our days, and found to be impoſſible to have happened as he has deſcribed it; from it reſults, that Mezerai was deceived as to the eclipſe only, the other facts being nearly true. So this method which they have thought ſo proper to conduct us to evidence, is only proper to lead us into uncertainty; for what might we expect of certainty if we depended on the correctneſs of an hiſtorical fact, to be decided by the capacity of an aſtronomer, and above all a Chineſe aſtronomer!

But

But there is a more eſſential point, on which it is not ſo eaſy to excuſe them: all they ſay of the riſe of the arts and trades are doubtleſs very groſs fictions. In theſe hiſtorians all the diſcoveries are made, as by enchantment, and follow with an inconceivable rapidity; but the worſt is, that all theſe diſcoveries are moreover attributed to princes, whilſt it is well known that princes but rarely make diſcoveries. It is the emperor Fo-hi who invents the almanac and fiſhing nets: it would have been more reaſonable to have aſſigned them to an aſtronomer and a fiſherman. It is the emperor Chung-nung who invents the whole of medicine: in one day he learned the characters of ſixty venemous plants, and in a nother all the virtues of ſixty medicinal plants, whilſt the Chineſe have not, at this time, the leaſt idea of a botanical ſyſtem. Further, it is the emperor Ho-angti who invents the art of ſpinning wool, and the empreſs his wife who invents the art of ſpinning ſilk. Afterwards, this man diſcovers, in leſs than an inſtant, all the proceedings in Metallurgy, which has furniſhed the exaggerator Martini with an opportunity of making him an alchymiſt: but this is a peculiarity that

that I ſhall examine in a ſeperate article, to find out how the Chineſe and Egyptians have equally been accuſed of having given into alchymy, however little likely it is. For the reſt, we ſee by all this, that the Chineſe have made more diſcoveries in three or four centuries, than could naturally have been effected in three or four thouſand years; which is both falſe and abſurd.

It is well known that in China there are ſectaries of Laokium, that the Jeſuits have been wrongfully accuſed of being at the ſame time atheiſts, ſorcerers and idolaters. But theſe ſectaries of Laokium are very ready to admit a long ſeries of ages anteriour to Fo-hi, whether they thought the inventions relative to the arts and trades brought into too narrow a circle, or whether they have an inclination for the ſyſtem of tranſmigration of ſouls; for I find that all the nations of that perſuaſion, make the world more ancient than thoſe who believe otherwiſe; as may be ſeen by the prodigious period of the Thibetans and the Indous, of whom it is ſuſpected that they carried it to China, where there is reaſon to think that the prince Ulug Beig, nephew of the emperor Tamerlane, calls it the epoch of Chatai;

Chatai; and we know that this epoch, followed at this day, goes higher than eighty-eight millions of years than our era. In Europe they ſay, a man muſt be mad to adopt ſuch a period; and the Fo-ſchang ſay, in their turn, that one muſt be mad to reject it.

It appears to me more than probable, that the Chineſe have been united in a body, as a nation, during many ages, without the knowledge of writing; ſo that when they arrived at that point, they had entirely forgotten the names of thoſe who made the firſt diſcoveries in the arts. But in order to leave no chaſm in the annals, they have filled them up with thoſe childiſh fables we have mentioned; and if they made choice of emperors to whom they attributed all theſe inventions, that happened from the ſervile ideas that men extract from ſlavery; for it is common amongſt ſlaves to lend their maſters a thouſand times more underſtanding than they have.

All that one can ſay poſitively, is, that the Chineſe are an extremely ancient people; their tongue and mode of writing ſhow it much better than the annals of Semat-tſieu, who

who is the Herodotus of China, and the firſt, as they ſay, who ſtirred the aſhes of that burning of books, excited, as is believed, by the emperor Dzin-ſchi-chuan-di. Mr. Fourmont pretends that this prince was unable to deſtroy all the copies of a work; and, by way of proof, he cites the Thalmud, which, according to him, it was not poſſible to annihilate at the time of that odious perſecution, which has fixed the Jews firmer in their belief, as was very natural. But Mr. Fourmont ought not to have cited ſuch an example, nor compare ſuch things with thoſe no way connected with it. The folly is, to be deſirous of annihilating books ſpread amongſt men, who, in their turn, are carried all over the world. When the Jews were perſecuted in Europe, on account of their Thalmud, they were not perſecuted in Aſia and Africa on account of their Thalmud, or that maſs of monſtrous abſurdities ſo called. But it was not ſo with the Chineſe, who were fallen under the yoke of a prince much more deſpotic than ever was Tiberius; who, nevertheleſs, ſucceeded in deſtroying, throughout the extent of the Roman empire, the annals of Cremutius Cor-

dus: and whatever Tacitus and Dion may ſay, there has never been a copy reached our days.

As to thoſe who doubting of the burning theſe books, or deny it openly, they found it upon this; this pretended misfortune is, according to them, a fable invented by the learned, who have endeavored to excuſe the diſorder which reigned in the hiſtory of their firſt Dynaſties, which are more obſcure than darkneſs itſelf. Nevertheleſs we may defy theſe learned to produce one work only which treats of architecture, medicine, aſtronomy, or agriculture, which is undoubtedly anteriour to our era, while they allow that the emperor Schi-chuan-di did not burn any book written on thoſe matters. It muſt be owned that this is a difficulty there is no getting the better of, if they make no ſearches in China with views very different than what the miſſionaries have had, who have ſaid many things that have been too lightly credited.

I have ſpoken vaguely of the origin of the Chineſe, at a time when it was not poſſible for me to have the leaſt knowledge of ſome experiments made with the Barometer

ter upon the height of the habitable land of Oriental Tartary; I ſhall now ſpeak from experience. The Barometer has been carried into ſome cantons inhabited by the Monguls, and they were much ſurprized to ſee the mercury deſcend as low as upon the high points of the Alps; nevertheleſs they have not meaſured towards the ſources of the Orca and the Selinga, where there is infinitely more convexity, and there is no reaſon to doubt of their being human habitations there. That the Chineſe have come from theſe heights is, in my opinion, inconteſtible; and as they have penetrated into China by the middle of the line, which the great wall, or the *Van-ly-crin*, at this day deſcribes, it ought neceſſarily to happen, that the northern provinces of their empire were poliſhed before thoſe of the ſouthern; and this is what all their monuments bear witneſs to, and even by the name they now beſtow on the inhabitants of the ſouthern provinces, whom when they wiſh to abuſe, they call *Man-dzy*, which ſignifies barbarians of the ſouth,* becauſe that ſocial life began towards the north,

* Queſtiones petropolitanæ de nomin: imperii Chinarum, 1770.

and

and that ſome of their hordes, who firſt went beyond the Choan-cho or Yellow River, preſerved the ferocious manners of the paſtoral life for a long time, which they had brought from Tartary, the true country of ſhepherd-people. They are now of that ſort there, and probably will always be.

We ſee then that the things are here in their natural order, which has not been interrupted or deranged by the arrival of any ſtrangers, who have not followed, in their tranſmigrations and eſtabliſhments, the ſloping inclination of the ground.

As to the hiſtory of Egypt, it would neither be ſo obſcure nor ſo confuſed, if it had not been prodigiouſly jumbled by modern chronologiſts, who have the prejudice, almoſt inconceiveable, to deſire to adjuſt the Egyptian annals by the Jewiſh hiſtory; and when they could not ſucceed by one ſet form of calculations, they thought upon another. So that at this day they reckon a hundred and ſeventeen different ſyſtems of chronology. From whence it exactly happens that we have no chronology; and it may be that ſome time or other, ſome philoſophical writers may take

take place of these vain calculators, who being never in agreement amongst themselves, nor each with himself, have spread darkness every where, and made truth look like a lie.

Father Petau dared to maintain, that all the Dynasties of Egypt are fabulous;* whilst, on the other hand he devoured the most monstrous absurdities, set on foot by Ctesias, as Saturn devoured the stones.

If you inquire of Marsham, Pezrou, Fourmont, and Jackson, they will tell you that the Dynasties are nothing like fabulous, and that the Jesuit Petau knew nothing about it; but you must agree with them that there were four or five kings at a time in Egypt; and this arrangement, unknown to all antiquity, appears to them so true and reasonable, that they do not even suspect that any difficulties can be proposed thereupon; but unluckily it has been discovered in our days, that Egypt is much smaller than was ever believed, and nearly but half what Count Caylus himself imagined; so that four or five kings at once would have been but lit-

* Dynastias istas confictas et ridiculas esse, &c. De Doct. temp. l. 9.

tle

tle at their eaſe. They have put one of theſe pretended kingdoms in the iſle of Elephants, becauſe they were ſo ignorant of geography as to perſuade themſelves it was of prodigious extent. This is what a Frenchman ſays of it, of the name of Origny, who has publiſhed ſo many fables concerning ancient hiſtory: "The Elephantine city, ſays he, was built in a very large iſland, that the Nile formed a little below the cataracts."§ But this iſland may be about 400 Toiſes in breadth, and 800 in length. Thus the kingdom placed there very much reſembles that of Yvetot.†

I beſeech the reader to examine the map of ancient Egypt by Mr. D'Anville, which gives this iſle leſs extent even than I have here allowed it.‡ There is then but little attention to be paid to the chimeras ſo contrary to reaſon; eſpecially as I ſhall hereafter endeavour to explain what this Dynaſty of Elephantine kings probably was.

§ Chron. du grand Empire des Egyptiens. Tom. 1. p. 173. 1765.

† Yevetot is in Normandy. Pays de Caux.

‡ This map is in the front of his Memoires ſur l'Egypte ancienne et moderne, Printed at the Louvre 1766.

Of

Of all the chronologers I have mentioned, Jackſon, the Engliſhman, alone perceived that the Pharoahs reſided only at Thebes or Memphis, and not in ſmall towns or villages.

This is certain enough, that near two thouſand years before our era, the Egyptians engraved on all kinds of fine ſtones. But the time neceſſary for men to attain to ſuch a degree of perfection in an art which has no connection with the neceſſities of life, but meerly appertains to luxury, does not ſeem to have ever been properly conſidered. After many reſearches, Bochart imagined that he had diſcovered ſchamir to have been firſt uſed about that time, which he ſuppoſed to be emery: but it ſeems very probable that ſchamir is pumice-ſtone, which is employed to poliſh marble and other minerals of that ſort, but is not uſed in graving. Many trials of courſe, ſome unfortunate, and others uſeleſs, muſt have been made before the properties of Emery, the Naxian ſtone, and the diamond powder were diſcovered: for it is a miſtake to affirm that the ancients did not uſe diamond powder, ſince Pliny ſpeaks of it in an unequivocal

equivocal manner. Frequent eſſays muſt alſo have preceded the invention of the machine called the drill; without the aſſiſtance of which, it is impoſſible to trace figures and characters on ſuch hard bodies. One may, indeed, without the drill, hollow them, as the Peruvians did emeralds; but this practice has no relation to graving, properly ſo called, in which ſaws and other inſtruments, of which the marks, as Natter himſelf acknowledges, are to be found on the Egyptian antiquities.* The traces of that inſtrument named Teretron by the Greek ſculptors, and by us Trepan, are evident on the obeliſk of Matarie: it is a kind of piercer, with a point of ſteel extremely fine, otherwiſe it would be blunted with the firſt attempt on granite. Thus all the moſt difficult arts of Metallurgy, muſt, in order of time, have preceded the erection of obeliſks. I confeſs that the Egyptians raiſed thoſe monuments with much fewer difficulties, than were encountered at Rome, where pope Sixtus V. had the weakneſs to make a biſhop openly exorcize thoſe large ſtones. But in return, the Egyptians had

* See his Traite de la Maniere de Graver en pierres fines. The Fol. edition.

far

far other obſtacles to ſurmount, in the cutting, and in the deſcent from the quarry, than Fontana had in the erection.

Children only can believe that theſe were the works of a people juſt emerged from barbariſm; but reaſonable men would conceive that century on century muſt have rolled away, before the Egyptians could have had confidence enough in their inſtruments and machines, even to think of cutting out ſuch ſpires; which did not ſerve them as gnomons, as ſome modern writers have ridiculouſly imagined.

It appears that the miſtakes which they have fallen into, concerning the explanation of the origin of the arts, have ariſen from a paſſage in Varro, which affirms, in the moſt poſitive manner, that all the arts were invented in Greece in the ſpace of a thouſand years. But inſtead of copying Varro in this, we ſhould correct him; for this man never ſaid a more manifeſt falſehood: ſince the Greeks did not invent the arts, they went in ſearch of them, or they were conveyed to them by others. For notwithſtanding the fertility of their geni-

* De Re Ruſtica, Lib. 3. Pa. 54.

us and the excellence of their organs, if they had remained confined to their own country, and without communication with Egypt or Phœnicia, a thouſand years would not have ſufficed for them to have invented the alphabet, which they acquired in a day; and that by a great accident, of which one cannot make a rule.

Beſides, let us not aſcribe to Varro, as to Mr. Goguet, the abſurd idea of abridging the time; ſince he himſelf agrees, in another place, that mankind muſt have continued, during a frightful number of years, in a ſavage ſtate; *immani annorum numero.* Thus he was deceived only with reſpect to the progreſs of the ſciences, which he thought very rapid, though in truth very ſlow. If we wiſh for an example, the duration of the tropical year might be cited, which muſt have intereſted all the poliſhed nations of the world. It ſeems at firſt ſight, that ſuch a diſcovery might have been made in three or four years; nevertheleſs it was not till our days. The prieſts of Thebes and Heliopolis, who thought they had found it, deceived themſelves by ſeveral minutes, as is viſible by the defect of the Julian Year. But, ſay they, the Egyptians could

could not have early formed a national body, on account of the regular overflowings of the Nile. To this it may be anſwered; that thoſe who make ſuch objections, never poſſeſſed the leaſt local or typographical knowledge: for it is certain, that a thouſand times greater, and more painful works muſt have been undertaken to protect Babylon from inundations, than Thebes; nevertheleſs, the learned, who intereſts themſelves much in favour of the Chaldeans, of whom they know not one ſingle monument, are deſirous of placing the origin of Babylon, in the moſt remote ages.

All the vain reaſonings which have been broached on this ſubject, ariſe from the general belief that lower Egypt was peopled and poliſhed before the Thebaid; but it is quite the contrary. The Egyptians deſcended from the heights of Ethiopia, ſo that they began to ſettle below the cataracts. Thus their firſt kings reſided at Thebes, and not at Memphis, as is demonſtrated by the canon of Eratoſthenes, and by all the catalogues of the Dynaſties. But to make great canals to fertilize the upper Thebais, was never thought of. There is but one cut

from

from the Nile to be found, which goes as far as Hieracon-polis, or the city of Hawks. It is below Thebes that all the great canals commence. Thoſe who have not particularly ſtudied geography, cannot clearly underſtand ancient hiſtory.

I confeſs, I cannot conceive how it entered the heads of father Kircher and Mr. Huet to ſend an Egyptian colony to China, in ſpite of the ſilence of all the hiſtorians and of all monuments of antiquity. Theſe viſions, which ought never to have been revived, have found defenders even in our days, who have thereupon propoſed conjectures and ſyſtems, ſingular for their ridiculouſneſs. They have gone ſo far even, as to pretend that the Phœnician letters and the radical characters of China, have a marked affinity: though it is a thing ſo vain, that no perſon of learning thinks about it, eſpecially ſince the ſingular adventure of Needham, an Engliſhman, and a profeſſor of the Chineſe language.

Some years ago the deſign of a buſt of Iſis was ſent from Turin to Rome. It was in height about two feet, having two-and-thirty very whimſical characters on the forehead, cheeks,

cheeks, and breaſt, and was ſaid to be very ancient. Upon which, the profeſſor, of whom I am ſpeaking, boldly decided that theſe characters, graved on an Egyptian antique, were, nevertheleſs, Chineſe; which he endeavoured to prove by extracts from a vocabulary, brought from Canton to the Vatican library. Mr. Needham, who was then travelling in Italy, was there informed of this pretended diſcovery, and was ſo inconſiderate as to publiſh it to all Europe. It is now known, that this buſt of Iſis, ſuppoſed to be ſo ancient, was not long ſince made in Piedmont, of a blackiſh ſtone very common in that country.* The ſculptor had cut theſe thirty-two characters from fancy, which have no ſignification whatever. Altho' I cannot approve ſuch frauds, too common among the Italian artiſts, which, in time, will render the moſt authentic antiquities ſuſpected, I muſt nevertheleſs acknowledge, it would be difficult more to mortify the pride of a profeſſor of the Chineſe language at Rome, who ought to have known, that the Chineſe, to whom hieroglyphic inſcrip-

* De l'uſage des ſtatues chez les anciens de Mr. L'Abbe de Guaſco. Pa. 296, 8vo.—Bruſſels, 1768.

tions

tions have been ſhown, could not decypher a ſingle word. They were far from underſtanding the winged circle, the ſign agathomedon, and eſpecially the croſs with a handle, which is repeated a thouſand and a thouſand times on the obeliſks, canopas, furniture of the mummies, and in fine on all the Egyptian monuments.

Our European antiquaries have been extremely perplexed with the croſs with a handle.

It is not long ſince, that Mr. Clayton, biſhop of Clogher, maintained that it means an inſtrument to plant lettuces; the father Kircher makes it the Creator: Don Martin, a van; and the famous Herwart, the ſea-compaſs.* It is true he cites other proofs; for he fancied he had diſcovered in Plutarch, that the Egyptians had ſmall ſtatues of iron and loadſtone, which repreſented the bones of Typhon and Orus; to which they added a ſuppoſition that the prieſts worſhipped it, with-

* Theologie Payenne. Part 1. Pa. 11.

out

out the ſhadow of proof.* Juſt as the Chineſe navigators have been ſeen to offer ſacrifice to the compaſs in the height of a ſtorm; becauſe they are infinitely better verſed in the habits of ſuperſtition than in the elements of pilotage.

At preſent there is no learned perſon who does not know that the croſs with a handle, which appears ſo often in the hieroglyphics, is a very remote repreſentation of a man's genital parts; in fine, it is the phallus: ſo that it is difficult to reflect ſeriouſly on the amazing overſight of Herwart: for it is plain there is a wide difference between the phallus and the compaſs. I am aſtoniſhed that it has not been perceived that this ſign, ſimple or compound, is, on all the obeliſks, turned, in every ſenſe, and towards all the cardinal points of the world. When it is ſeen ſuſpen-

* To prove that they worſhipped theſe figures, Claudian is quoted.

Ferrea martis
Forma nitet, venerem magnetica gemma figurat,
Illis connubium celebrat de more ſacerdos.

But Claudian does not ſay that this was practiſed by the Egyptians; and probably it is a poetic fiction of his own.

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ded to the necks of figures, then its extremity is towards the earth, exactly as at this day the Hindoos carry the Lingam on the breaſt, which is known to be a repreſentation of the ſame object, but far leſs concealed. Not as ſome travellers have abſurdly declared as the ſign of their reprobation; for there is no Hindoo who looks upon himſelf as loſt to Virtue.

It has been maintained, that there never was a more favourable epoch in the hiſtory of Egypt, for ſending a colony to China, than in the expedition of Seſoſtris, which I have examined with great attention, and can aſſert it to be a prieſtly fable, intirely devoid of truth. This pretended expedition undoubtedly relates to the courſe of the ſun entirely, as that of Oſiris does. Thus Seſoſtris is ſeen continually marching from the Eaſt to the Weſt.

*Venit ad occaſum, mundique extrema Seſoſtris.**

Thus he made the tour of the globe, and conquered the habitable earth; which is but a trifle.

We muſt not ſay that all this is written on

* Lucan. Pharſal. Lib. 10. v. 276.

one

one of the obeliſks at Rome, for the tranſlation of Hermapion, ſuch as we have it in Ammianus Marcellinus, is evidently contradicted by a paſſage in Pliny, which affirms, that the obeliſk mentioned, contains philoſophical obſervations, and not fairy tales.

Megaſthenes, cited by Strabo, had certainly great reaſon to maintain that Seſoſtris never ſet a foot in India; for it could not have happened but at a time when the celebrated family of Succandit reigned over all Indoſtan. For the annals of Indoſtan make no mention of Seſoſtris, although the Bramins have preſerved the memory of the viſit paid them by Pythagoras: and yet Pythagoras was not, like the Pharoah of Egypt, eſcorted by a multitude of robbers; nor eſpecially by twenty-eight thouſand chariots, as aſſerted by exaggerators who were unacquainted with what twenty-eight thouſand chariots are.

When I reflect on the conqueſts of the Carthaginians, Arabs, and Moors, I do not deny, but that warlike and conquering nations may have gone out from warm

countries, but it is true alſo that the expeditions of theſe people are terminated under temperate climates, and that when they undertook them, they either had not, or believed they had not, any thing to fear at home. But this was not the caſe with Seſoſtris, who does not appear to have been very ſecure in his own country; ſince to reſtrain ſome troops of Scenites or Arabian ſhepherds who ravaged the Delta by their incurſions, he incloſed all Lower Egypt with a great wall; as the Chineſe have done to check the Tartars, who are not to be ſtopped in this manner. In the courſe of my reſearches I ſhall ſpeak very largely of all thoſe frightful ramparts which ſo many nations have had the folly to conſtruct in ſo many parts of the old continent, becauſe they fancied that a country might be fortified like a city; and this miſtake has raiſed the greateſt works that are to be ſeen upon earth.

The Phœnicians, or rather the merchants of Tyre and Sidon, having perceived of what importance it was for them to poſſeſs ſtaples of commerce in the Colchide, into which there was a great influx of the wares

of

of India, formed eſtabliſhments on the banks of the Phaſis; * to which they eaſily paſſed by the Mediterranean, whilſt it was nearly impoſſible for a people from Africa to enter it by the way of the continent.

Theſe ſettlements of the Phœnicians are what Herodotus has taken for an Egyptian colony, founded by Seſoſtris in the country of Colchis: and this miſtake is ſo much the more groſs, ſince he himſelf confeſſes, that in Egypt they had not the leaſt knowledge of this colony; as if it ſhould be ſaid, that the Spaniſh eſtabliſhments in Peru, are unknown in Spain.

It is ſo certain that Herodotus firſt conceived all theſe fables, that Onomacritus, who lived long before Herodotus, and enters into great details concerning the country of Colchis, ſays not a word of an Egyptian colony ſettled there, though he men-

* Theſe commercial ſtaples of the Phœnicians on the Phaſis, gave riſe to the traditions of the Hebrew and Philiſtine colonies in the country of Colchis; for all theſe neighbouring nations reſembled each other in ſome cuſtoms. Vide les obſervations critiques ſur les anciens Parples, de Fourmont, Tom. 1. p. 255.

tions

tions the Phœnicians under the appellation of Solymi and of Aſſyrians, in his Argonautics, uſually attributed to Orpheus.* The poets, as Appolonius of Rhodes and Valerius Flaccus, who have written on the expedition of the Argonauts, choſe to follow the opinion of Herodotus, becauſe the marvellous there contained, is congenial with the rules of an epic poem.

It has obſtinately been maintained, which it ought not to be, that the name of Seſoſtris is to be found in the canon of the kings of Aſſyria; nor eſpecially to conclude that Aſſyria was in the number of the countries conquered by him: for it is certain, that in this, Caſtor has copied Cteſias, who of all the Greeks has lied the moſt impudently in hiſtory. Thus Euſebius, Moſes of Chorena, and Caſſiodorus, have rejected the Sethos of Cteſias from the canon of the Aſſyrian kings, to inſert a prince, name Atadas or Azatag, which is incomparably more reaſonable.

It is ſtill more ſtrange that a fleet of ſix

* Mr Geſner has juſtly obſerved in his learned notes on the Orphicks, that the Solymi and Aſſyrians of the country of Colchis, are Phœnicians.

hundred

hundred long ſhips ſhould be built by Seſoſtris on the Red Sea. Such prodigies are aſcribed to a time, when the ignorance of the Egyptians in naval affairs, was extreme; becauſe even then, their abhorrence to the ſea was invincible: and it will be ſhown preſently, that this averſion was very agreeable to their religious and political principles. The prieſts could not approve of foreign trade; and what is extraordinary, there was a reaſonable conſiſtency in their proceeding: for when the inſtitutions of a people are relative to their climate, as thoſe of the Egyptians were, it is proper to reſtrain foreign commerce, and to encourage agriculture; a maxim from which the prieſts never departed, but when forced by princes who ſhook the ſtate.

On the other hand, wood for building was ſo ſcarce that they were at firſt extremely embarraſſed to complete the number of barks employed on the Nile and the canals: and undoubtedly many experiments were made, before they could conſtruct them of baked earth, which no other people of the earth, that I know of, have dared to attempt. The manner even of baking

baking theſe veſſels by fire, of giving them ſolidity by exact proportions, of varniſhing them well, and covering them with ruſhes, are now among the number of things unknown, and perhaps, with reſpect to us, are uſeleſs things. When the Ptolemies were deſirous to carry on the Indian trade by the Red-Sea, the want of wood obliged them to uſe weak barks, formed of ruſhes and the papyrus ſewed together, which carried but ſmall ſails, ſmall crews, ſailed ill, and were but ill defended againſt pirates. It alſo appears that they were always conducted by Greek pilots; for the Egyptians did not underſtand the working of a veſſel, whatever Mr. Amailhon has ſaid, who imagines them to have been very ſkilful in maritime affairs; becauſe, ſays he, they deſcended the cataract of the Nile in a canoe.* But the deſcent of the ſtrongeſt cataract is never more than ſeven or eight feet, as Mr. Pocock ſaw, which has not the leaſt relation to the knowledge neceſſary for navigating the ſea.

Thus far is certain, that Seſoſtris did much

* Hiſtoire de la Navigation et du commerce des Egyptiens ſous les Ptolemees. Pa. 129.

good

good to his people, to whom he reſtored the property of thoſe lands, of which they had been deprived during the uſurpation of the Paſtor kings; the moſt unmerciful tyrants mentioned in hiſtory. Thus the Egyptians had reaſon to teſtify their gratitude in a ſplendid manner to Seſoſtris, that they might maintain the reputation they had in antiquity, "of being the moſt grateful of men:" they had reaſon, I ſay, continually to celebrate this prince's memory, to ſtile him the ſecond Oſiris, and to compare his benefits with thoſe of the ſun; but, nevertheleſs, it is not neceſſary that he ſhould have been made the conqueror of the whole habitable earth.

CONCERNING THE POPULATION OF THE CHINESE.

BEFORE the conqueſt of China by the Tartars, that is to ſay before that of the year 1644, they carried caſtration to an incredible exceſs, which of itſelf is enough to give the lie to the praiſes which writers, little inſtructed, have been prodigal of, touching the form of their government, in which all the magiſtrates were of that caſt, and all the provinces pillaged by thoſe magiſtrates.

I am

I am far from thinking that the great credit allowed to eunuchs by the Chineſe, from the beginning of the empire, was occaſioned by a ſuperſtitious prejudice, which, from the moſt remote antiquity, had place among the Scythians or Tartars, who had a peculiar reverence for all thoſe men who were impuiſſant in the flower of their age, becauſe they looked upon them as rendered ſuch by divine power. Hippocrates, the only author who has ſpoken of the eunuchs of Scythia, who, he pretends, were dreſſed as women, and that the origin of this diſorder was from their conſtantly being on horſeback, without uſing ſtirrups. In this we may credit Hippocrates. But when he adds that the Scythians, to cure themſelves of this indiſpoſition, opened the veins on each ſide of their heads, from whence the weakneſs enſued, he is no longer to be credited: becauſe we know at this time, that the ſpermatic veſſels, which he ſuppoſed to be in the organs of hearing, are not placed there. The hiſtory of China began in the year 2037 before our era, to ſpeak of the credit of the eunuchs. At that time they governed the emperor, and ſoon after the empire, if we may give the name of government to an aſſociation of robbers, who, under the reign

of Te-tſong, invaded not only, as I ſaid, the magiſtracy, but who appropriated the tribute of the provinces, as if they were ſpoils. It was impoſſible at that time to obtain the loweſt offices without this mutilation, becauſe the great eunuchs of the palace would not confer any office, but on men as deſpicable as themſelves. It would be tireſome to enumerate all the conſpiracies and murders that they committed; it is ſufficient to ſay, that from the death of Hien-Tſong, whom they poiſoned, to the year 904 of our era, that they played with the lives of the emperors, and ſucceſſively crowned four, each more weak and ſtupid than the other, whom they kept in leading ſtrings, like infants. Nevertheleſs, in the courſe of the tenth century, the eunuchs were driven from the tribunals, but they again got poſſeſſion of them. In the twelfth century, they were again driven out, and again returned. Their force appeared then inſurmountable, becauſe their numbers increaſed from year to year, and from day to day. The rich and poor equally emaſculated their children, in the hope, that by theſe means they might arrive at power, better than by ſtudying the pretended

pretended morality of Confuſius and Mentſe.

Things were in this ſtate when the Mandhuis or Mantchoux Tartars conquered China in an inſtant; and nothing ſurprized them more, than to ſee men governed by thoſe who were not ſo. They began by reducing the number one half of the eunuchs attached to the court, which were above 12,000 under the reign of Tien-ki, a man without honour or talents, whom the ruin of the empire could ſcarcely draw from his lethargy. Father Schal, who by his knowledge in the buſineſs of artillery had acquired great acceſs to the conqueror Chung-Tchi, founder of the preſent reigning dynaſty, ſays, that this prince entertained then 6000 eunuchs, which appears exceſſive, ſince in the ſeraglio at Conſtantinople, they reckon ordinarily but five or ſix hundred, as we learn from Mr. Galland, French interpreter in Turkey. The Tartar tutors of Can-hi drove out almoſt all the eunuchs during his minority, except ſuch as were kept for the care of the women; ſince which they have made conſtant efforts to get again into power.

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As in China, the cuſtom of infanticide was not obnoxious to the laws, they were far from thinking caſtration to be a crime; but it was not this cauſe which produced ſo many eunuchs, which aroſe from the ſeverity which they obſerved towards the women, and from the low price of ſlaves, which is incomparably leſs than in Perſia and Turkey; where, according to the precepts of the Alcoran, it is not permitted to caſtrate man nor beaſt: and, independently of that, there is a civil law in Perſia, ſo that the eunuchs they want, come at a great expence from Africa, India, and above all from Golconda, where, in the 17th century, they mutilated almoſt all the children, which have always been, and ever will be, the principal cauſe of the weakneſs of the Aſiatic courts. Father Parrenin, who was long in China, aſſures us, that the fury of caſtration is yet incredible; that there are more females born than boys, and more girls deſtroyed than boys caſtrated; and that there are many of theſe eunuchs who marry.

It is ſingular that the Chineſe, who allow polygamy, have more women than they want;

want; and that the Turks, who are in the ſame predicament, buy, and continually procure women, by all means, from other countries. This is ſo well known at Vienna, that the Turkiſh ambaſſadors covered boats are always ſearched before they are ſuffered to deſcend the Danube.

All this would be inexplicable, if we did not know, that in China there are many men who live ſingle: that there are a million of monks, the greater part of which are beggars; the robbers in the provinces who have no families, and a great number of ſlaves who are not permitted to marry: ſo that the population of this country, which has been much exaggerated, is produced from cauſes, independent of the nature of the laws and form of government.

In the temperate climates of Aſia, the men are naturally ſober, their food is ſimple, and they are not in the habit of uſing ſtrong liquors; which may perhaps corrupt or change the prolific ſubſtance. They have no need to ſhut up their children, nor cloath them as in northern climates, where the rigour of the ſeaſon keeps them ſo long in repoſe, which hurts

hurts their health, and is oppoſite to their favorite paſſion, which is the love of motion.

In theſe temperate regions they have always ripe fruits of a good ſort, and the ſecond paſſion of children is a violent appetite for fruits of all kinds, occaſioned by the heat of their ſtomachs, which diminiſhes as they grow up.

In China the women are very fruitful; and the loſs of their children from diſeaſe, is infinitely leſs than in Europe, where one half die before they are twenty years of age. It is probable that there is not any ſpecies of animal, whether in the domeſtic or ſavage ſtate, the half of whoſe little ones periſh before they arrive at their full growth.

It is unneceſſary to go into the controverſies concerning the population of China, ſince the hiſtorians vary among themſelves to the number of one hundred millions, as may be ſeen in the calculations of Martini and Bartole. The extracts which are pretended to have been taken from Chineſe regiſters, appears to have been fabricated by Europeans, and thoſe ill inſtructed even: for in ſome they are laid at ten in a family

family throughout a province, and in others but five, which is an impoſſible diſproportion.

I dare ſay that there is not a ſingle city in China, concerning which, we have procured exact notions, and that all is related at hazard. Du Halde gives three millions of inhabitants to Pekin; Le Comte but two millions; and Gaubil expreſſes himſelf in ſo vague a manner, that one can conclude nothing. But thoſe who differ a million with reſpect to the inhabitants of one city, can never hope to make us believe that they are inſtructed in the population of a whole country, which is more irregularly inhabited than any other on the ſurface of the globe.

Kircher and Couplet have copied the atlas of Martini. Mendoza makes the number of walled cities amount to 1674, the Jeſuits to 1453 only, which is very ſurprizing; for in an empire ſo extenſive, there ought to be at leaſt fifteen thouſand, and even more, if we compared them with Holland and Brabant.

The people are crammed together along the ſea coaſt and great rivers, for fiſhing and traffick;

traffick; and to thoſe who judge from the capital and commercial cities the beſt ſituated, the country may appear many times more populous than it is. But from the people thus crouded together, we may account for the infanticide, and the frequent famines which make ſuch horrible ravage amongſt them.

Mr. Oſbeck, who was in China in 1751, ſays, that, at that time, the province of Canton was burdened with a multitude of wandering families, whom famine had driven from the centre of the empire, where death had carried off an infinity of others. Parrenin would make us believe that the emperor and the great Mandarins take meaſures, from time to time, to diminiſh the number of the people, by depriving them of proviſions, and ſacrificing ſeven or eight hundred thouſand inhabitants to the public repoſe: but this deteſtable policy is purely in the imagination of Parrenin; for it is the famines which have occaſioned the greateſt troubles which have made one province attack another, even to the eating the inhabitants, which is not a very rare thing in China. On ſuch occaſions authority, and commiſeration are ſtifled; fathers have been ſeen to devour their

their children. But it is contradictory and abſurd that the ſovereign and governors, whoſe intereſt it is to preſerve tranquility, ſhould contrive to ſtarve the people into a revolt, which may endanger their own lives and ſafety: for in deſpotic governments, every diſaſter is attributed to the ſovereign: The Chineſe make the emperors reſponſible for the waſtes committed by the Locuſts. In deſpotic ſtates they forget God, and think only of their prince; who uſurps, as far as he can, all the rights of the Almighty.

There are no regular troops in China to protect the inhabitants in the provinces, from the pillage of robbers; which are innumerable. In all the villages through which I paſſed, ſays Fontaney, I ſaw a lofty building, a kind of tower, where the villagers placed their effects when they apprehended the irruptions of the robbers. If theſe irruptions are to be feared upon the high roads, in the centre of the kingdom, one may gueſs how little ſecurity there is in places more diſtant and out of the way.

Notwithſtanding all the checks to population which we have mentioned, the nature of the climate and the fecundity of the women in the ſouthern provinces, produce a great increaſe of men. Some calculators make the population to amount to eighty-two millions, which, there is no doubt, is an exaggeration; but if it were true, the reſult will always be, that China, with reſpect to its extent, is leſs populous than Germany, which is about a ſixth part of its ſize. As in China they chiefly burn a foſſile coal, called *Mon-y*, it appears, at firſt, that this cuſtom ſhould produce the ſame effects as in Europe, where the provinces which uſe coal, are more populous than thoſe which make uſe of wood for firing; for they can plow over lands which yield coal, as may be ſeen in the country of Leige, Scotland, and others. But to maintain woods for firing, a great deal of land is loſt to agriculture: but this has not the ſame influence in China, where, in almoſt all the governments, diſtricts of twenty leagues in length are empty; ſo that deſerts are incomparably more extenſive than foreſts need be, if they burnt wood.

As in China they have neither laws nor inſtitution reſpecting health and the ſalubrity

brity of the air, there ariſes the greateſt difference between them and the Egyptians, that can be found between any two people; for the latter had laws and inſtitutions relative to the climate and the complexion of the inhabitants, which is very ſtriking in my treatiſe on the dietetic regimen of the ancient Egyptians.

OF THE

STATE

OF

PAINTING AND SCULPTURE,

AMONG THE

EGYPTIANS, CHINESE, AND ORIENTALS IN GENERAL.

WHEN two nations are ſuppoſed to have had one common origin, it is neceſſary to examine in what ſtate the arts have been in both; but this cannot be done

done by a compariſon of ſome monuments of each. It embraces many circumſtances which make it very difficult to develop. It is, however, neceſſary to know the cauſes which have prevented the Orientals from making any ſenſible progreſs in painting and ſtatuary.

It is to be obſerved, that there is more analogy than has been believed, between the manner in which the Orientals paint, and the manner in which they ſpeak. Ever ſince there were Greek painters in Europe and in Aſia, ſuch great difference was obſerved in their works, that they were diſtinguiſhed as two kinds, the Helladic and the Aſiatic. The Grecian orators in the European and the cities of Aſia, were in a like manner diſtinguiſhed by the titles of Attic and Aſiatic.

Without repeating the various opinions on this head, we ſhall adopt Quintilian's: that the Oriental ſtyle had its origin in the organs and in the inſtinct of thoſe who ſpeak and thoſe who hear. *Dicentium et audientium naturæ.*

The

The moderns have been thought to have attributed too much to climate, in matters reſpecting genius; but the ancients carried it further, ſince they imagined a great difference between the Attic and Beotian air, though both thoſe ſmall diſtricts join.

Pliny mentions ſome paintings in Egypt, which were ſaid to have exiſted ten thouſand years. Theſe were native colours, neither taken from animal or vegetable ſubſtances, and laid on the walls of grottos where the ſun never came, in a country where ſcarcely ever rain falls. The walls are without the leaſt appearance of nitre; and the colours of blue and red, are remarkably vivid. There are colours which have laſted to this time, in ſpite of the efforts of the Arabs, and to be ſeen in the royal ſepulchres of Bibanel-moluc, which may be ſuppoſed to have been laid on before the pyramids were built.

The Egyptians had no idea of a mixture of colours to create that harmony in painting which we admire; a brightneſs reſembling the colours of flowers, was all they aimed at. In all hiſtory there is no mention of

of one Egyptian who was celebrated as a good painter. Auguſtus, after the death of Cleopatra, received but one painting by Nicias the Greek, and one porcelain veſſel, of the murrine kind, which was all that was judged worthy of appearing at Rome.

In hot countries men are affected with very oppoſite humours. The ſpaniards even, are a very grave people, yet they love dancing paſſionately, inſomuch they cannot keep without motion, if they hear the ſound of a muſical inſtrument. The Egyptians were inclined to an invincible melancholy; yet their imagination was very lively, which carried them from one extreme to another. In ſtatuary they either made coloſſal or pigmy figures.

Some have fancied that the mummies had a Chineſe phiziognomy; but this is owing to the damage done to the bridge of the noſe, in extracting the brain through the noſtrils; which was the practice in embalming. The preſent Copts who live in Egypt, deſcend from the ancient Egyptians indubitably, but have no feature like the Chineſe, who are evidently

evidently of Tartar origin, and preſerve the original character, having little beard, ſmall eyes, and flat noſe.

Ghirardini, an Italian painter who had ſeen every thing worth notice at Canton and Pekin, where he painted the cupola of a church, ſays, that the Chineſe had not the leaſt idea of the fine arts. An Italian artiſt may be ſuppoſed to be eaſily diſguſted, but the Tartars even could not bear the ſight of their performances; and the four emperors ſince the conqueſt of the Tartar race, have always employed European painters. There is not a copper-plate engraver in all Aſia; where they deſpiſe pictures too much to multiply the copies of them by means which call for more patience than the Orientials are ſuſceptible of. What they cut in wood for moulds to print their cottons, they do with an aſtoniſhing quickneſs.

The Jeſuits, in order to attract notice, painted the walls of their churches in China, under the reign of the emperor Can-hi, as is done in Europe frequently, to create a deception bythe ſhading; and, though it was but indifferently performed, it had a wonderful

derful effect; the emperor felt it with his hand, believing there was a depth in it. Ghirardini, who painted a colonade and ſome members of architecture at Pekin, paſſed for a ſorcerer; who deceived the people by the means of Taliſmen. The ſavage admires nothing; the ignorant man wonders at every thing. Ghirardini, who was not flattered by ſuch admirers, was glad to get to Europe, where he publiſhed this relation.

Le Comte ſays, that the Chineſe have not yet acquired a thorough knowledge of perſpective; whereas, the truth is, that they have not the leaſt idea of its principles, though they are always painting landſcapes, which have neither point of view, nor diſtance. They have not the leaſt notion of rules to which the effects of light are ſubject; in vain they attempt to plant objects at a diſtance, by placing them in the ſky part of the picture, which has no ſuch effect; for the horizontal plane being boundleſs, the illuſion of the perſpective is loſt; beſides, they neither know how to break, nor ſhade colours: one needs only look at a Chineſe garden, repreſented by ſuch painters, where

artificial mountains, precipices, ditches, and ſerpentine walks, trees without ſymmetry, and winding canals, mixt with ſo many other confuſed things, that nothing but the moſt depraved imagination could bring forth. The author gives other reaſons why the arts in China, as well as in other parts of Aſia, have remained in their infant ſtate: he thinks that moſt of thoſe arts they pretend to have invented, were received by by them from India. They make many artificial flowers which are ſent to Europe; but there never was one, where the whole as to ſtem, leaves, calix, and the other parts of fructification, was ever executed to the ſatisfaction of a botaniſt.

The ſculptors have the ſuperiority, when compared with the painters in China; which has been the ſame all over the world, not excepting Greece. When Statuary was at its zenith there, the famous painter Polygnotes, conſtantly erred againſt the rules of perſpective: in fact the painter has more to do; if his drawing is as correct as it ſhould be, he has only half done his buſineſs. There are no ſtatues in China older than the age of Confucius, who was contemporary with Herodotus

Herodotus, who had ſeen ſtatues in Egypt many thouſand years old.

The arts cultivated by the Egyptians, ſuch as cutting fine ſtones and making glaſs, were thoſe which the Chineſe knew nothing of; and yet, contrary to the Egyptians, the Chineſe make great uſe of ſeals. A fact of the laſt importance is, that the fineſt porcelaine, the beſt wrought and painted, and varniſhed, or lacquered works, at Pekin and all the great cities in China, are all brought from Japan, where they are ſuperior in all ingenious manufactures.

After what has been ſaid, it is eaſy to imagine that which the author has proved, that the Chineſe are as deficient in architecture as in painting; and as far from a reſemblance to the Egyptians as is poſſible. The Chineſe, though their country is full of quarries of marble and ſtone, uſe only wood. The Egyptian architecture is indeſtructible; whereas the Chineſe is fragile in all reſpects. The varniſh and *papier machée* they uſe about their columns, render them highly inflammable: they have never known how to conſtruct a ſtone edifice of two or three ſtories;

ſtories; they do not undertake it in wood: for which reaſon their cities take up ſo much ground. A pleaſure houſe built for the emperor Can-hi, ſtood on as much ground as the city Dijon in France.

It is not ſo eaſy to find out the object which ſerved as a model to the Egyptian architecture; but there is no miſtaking that of the Chineſe, which is a tent,* which is very conformable with their Tartar origin. Their houſes would ſtand if you took away the walls; for they do not ſupport the roof, but only ſurround it. Mr. Bougainville, in ſpeaking of the Chineſe eſtabliſhment near Batavia, calls it, the Chineſe camp.

The famous flying bridge that has been ſo frequently deſcribed, did never exiſt as it is deſcribed; and the inventor, who meant to exalt the ingenuity of the Chineſe, had not common ſenſe; for it is eaſy to ſee, that no ſuch bridge could be formed by means of a Roman or Gothic arch, which is moſt commonly uſed in China. Probably the arch might reſt on ſome rock, laid upon ſoft mould by accident, which was taken afterwards from the ſides to give it this wonder-

* A Pagoda, of no matter how many ſtages, is only tent above tent.

ful

ful appearance: examples of which may be ſeen in the Alps. The arches of their bridges are ſo high and ſharp pointed, that carriages cannot paſs up and down the ſteps which are neceſſary to go over them; they ſay it is that the boats may paſs with their maſts; which might be avoided if they had the ingenuity to lower their maſts to paſs under bridges, which might be uſeful to carriages to paſs over.

The famous royal canal, which is a ſtupendous work, was not made by the Chineſe, who never knew how to take the neceſſary levels, but by the Mongol Tartars, about the year 1280 after our era, and would have been in ruins, but for the Mandhuis Tartars, who repaired it in 1640.

Obeliſks and pyramids, the wonders of Egypt, are works totally unknown to the Chineſe, who have no idea of building for duration; which is a difference in taſte, precluding all appearance of connection between the two people.

It is ſuppoſed by ſome, that the trunk of the

the palm tree was the model of the Egyptian column.*

The roofs of the Egyptian temples and houſes were flat; derived from the early habit of dwelling in caverns in the mountains of Ethiopia. Hence too, the paſſion of the prieſts for ſubterraneous chambers: ſome found 160 feet under ground. The cuſtom of dwelling and ſtudying in thoſe gloomy manſions, gave birth to the Egyptian myſteries, and to the obſcure communications of their notions in religion and philoſophy.

The Chineſe ſurround the tombs of their emperors and great men with extenſive plantations: the Egyptians prohibited interments where ever a tree could grow.

The pyramids as well as the obeliſks were erected in honour of the being which enlightens the univerſe; and this determined the prieſts to make the faces of the pyramids correſpond with the four cardinal points, by

* Savary thus deſcribes the moſt celebrated Egyptian column: It is of red granate, the capital Corinthian, nine feet high. The ſhaft and upper member of the baſe of one piece, ninety feet long, and nine in diameter. The whole 114 feet high; the moſt beautiful monument on the face of the earth.

which

which we can prove, to a certainty, that the poles of the earth have not changed in the courſe of at leaſt 4000 years; which is an obligation we owe to the Egyptians: for in in vain ſhould we ſearch over the ſurface of the globe for ſuch teſtimony. Of obeliſks, there were four-ſcore of the firſt grandeur; ſuch as has been deſcribed. Very falſe ideas have been entertained relative to Chaldea. There are no monuments or ſtatues remaining, whilſt all the cabinets of Europe have at all times been ſtored with Egyptian antiques.

PHILOSOPHICAL
REFLECTIONS:

SELECTED FROM

LES

RECHERCHES PHILOSOPHIQUES

SUR LES

EGYPTIENS

ET LES

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WHEN one conſiders the nature of Aſiatic luxury, it is clearly ſeen to be the effect of deſpotiſm; ſo that we may eſtabliſh it as a rule, the application of which will hold good alſo in Europe, that the more ſervitude increaſes in a country, luxury, in a like proportion, keeps pace with it, till it arrives at that point where it changes into a vain oſtentation without taſte, excluding all workmanſhips that may be entitled the

the moſt excellent of their kinds. We have heard of very rich coverings for the Elephants of the emperor of China, and of veſtments worth two lacks of rupees, or twenty-five thouſand pounds, in which the Mogul ſometimes dreſſes the Omras. We have alſo heard of horſe-troughs of gold, and that the plate for the table of the Emperor of Perſia was worth twenty two millions: but who has ever heard of the pictures or ſtatues of the emperors of China, Perſia, or of the Mogul?

Where men are equally deſpicable without perſonal merit, who have done nothing which can be called virtuous, and on whom Heaven has beſtowed no genius, the diſtinction between them muſt be made by the colours and richneſs of dreſs, and by thoſe things which ſtrike the eyes only of the populace; it is then that luxury changes its name and its nature. To conceive how this revolution is brought about, and to find the intermediate point between the two extremes we have nothing to do but to chooſe an example in the hiſtory of ſome celebrated people, and to mark the epochas with preciſion. It was immediately after the conqueſt of Egypt that the Romans fell into their great luxury

luxury, which went on increaſing till the time of Commodus, when it was changed into pomp, and under Conſtantine it arrived at the taſteleſs Aſiatic oſtentation: from the firſt of theſe eras to the laſt, liberty declined, and the arts gradually degenerated.

We have only to conſult all the remains of the monuments of eaſtern antiquity, to find that they have always, as well as at this time, been alike employed in fabricating ſtuffs of a price ſo exceſſive, as to be almoſt incredible. Chardin ſays, that in his time, they made gold brocades in Perſia worth thirty-three thouſand livres, or fifteen hundred pounds the ell; but that he ſaw no furniture or workmanſhip executed with taſte and elegance.

As they prefer the matter to the workmanſhip, it follows, that great artiſts, if there were any ſuch, muſt ſtarve in ſuch a country: luxury degenerated into oſtentation has no need but of labourers, not artiſts. A ſmith made the money, diadem, ſcepter, and harneſs for the horſes of the emperor Conſtantine. It is true that the type of the medals

medals of the emperor Julian are not much better, but he died too ſoon, or was born too late, to repair all the miſchiefs that deſpotiſm had wrought.

It has been a thouſand times ſaid, that the fine arts can flouriſh only where men are free. But the reaſon is not ſo well known, nor ſo eaſy to find, as may be thought: the more the effect is ſenſible the more the cauſe is hid. The Ruſſians who were ſent from the court of Peterſburgh into Italy, to learn the arts of drawing and painting, have been made free: but as this can work no change in the organs or phyſical conſtitution of the young men, it may be aſked, if they will make more progreſs by the pure effect only of enfranchiſement, than if they had continued in a ſtate of ſlavery? Yes—if beſides they have in them the ſeeds of genius. In a word, this is what ſeems to me the true ſolution of this problem.

We muſt diſtinguiſh thoſe who are born ſlaves in two points of view; thoſe who never reflect on their misfortune, and thoſe who are always afflicted with that idea. In the firſt it is obvious there is a want of penetration,

netration, that their ſentiment is no more than in negroes, or domeſtic animals; ſo that all pains of inſtruction are thrown away on ſuch men. In the ſecond caſe, thoſe ſlaves who conceive all the grandeur of the benefit that fatality and injuſtice have deprived them of, it is viſible that the idea of this misfortune muſt inceſſantly occupy their minds; and ſo intirely does this ſorrowful thought riſe above all others, that they are incapable of a ſteady attention, ſo neceſſary in the purſuit, and to arrive at any tolerable ſucceſs in the fine arts, to which a man ought to conſecrate himſelf intirely, and to be inacceſſible to all other cares and ſentiments: for, if we may be permitted to uſe the expreſſion, the ſoul cannot bear two loads at once; and without doubt that of ſlavery is the greateſt to a perſon capable of reflection. They might perhaps become philoſophers like Epictetus, and embrace the moſt rigid virtue, which can alone conſole them under the loſs of liberty, rather than excellent painters, or great poets, whoſe ſpirit ought to be divine, and their ſtyle ſtrong and melodious.

Some

Some enfranchiſements among ſlaves have produced great effects; as we find from ancient hiſtory in many examples: but by the greateſt misfortune imaginable, freedom cannot be granted in the deſpotic ſtates of Aſia, with the like advantages that it was amongſt the Greeks and Romans. A man may be drawn from the chains of domeſtic ſervitude, but he ſtill remains in thoſe of civil ſlavery.

It is very ſorrowful after all, to ſee ſo many philoſophers alarmed at the reiterated efforts that are made to eſtabliſh arbitrary power in Europe; which they ſuppoſe will, in leſs than three hundred years, reſemble that of Aſia. The combuſtion will however be more rapid in Europe, than it was formerly in Aſia Minor, where men have leſs real and phyſical wants; ſo that almoſt every thing may be taken from them before they will be ſtarved to death. And that has happened. When the Greek emperors of Conſtantinople, whom we know to have been the moſt infamous of princes, firſt laid a tax upon air, *pro hauſtu Aëris;* the number left to breath it in Ionia was ſo few, that by the reduction, the farmers of the tax did not gain

gain as they had done under Conſtantine. The hiſtory of the finances of the lower empire would be very intereſting; but ſuch as no man of humanity could read without tears.

As to the influence of climate with reſpect to the fine arts, we will endeavour to indicate ſome of them, without repeating anything that has been ſaid of the Oriental ſtyle. In hot countries men have not that ſtrength of mind which ſubmits the imagination to rule; carried away at all times by their vivacity, they cannot, for any length of time, fix their eyes upon a model, ſo as to be maſter of the outlines. Almoſt all the painters in thoſe countries have the ſame defects as young beginners with us; that is to ſay, that in two or three ſhades, they paſs from dark to light, whilſt great maſters, whoſe minds are better ſettled, employ infinitely more time in working down the ſhades, that the effect may be inſenſible.

Of all the operations which a conſtantly hot air produces on the human body, the moſt ſingular is that which has been but little noticed: that under the burning climates

men ſleep leſs than in the temperate regions, and much leſs again than in the northern ones, where the vital heat, concentrated about the heart and ſtomach, enables the Greenlanders and Eſkimaus to ſleep a long time at once. It was formerly ſaid, that between the tropics they found people who never dreamed when they ſlept: but they would have been much nearer the truth, in attributing this prodigy to the inhabitants of the Glacial zone.

It is a fact, obſerved by Boerhaave, that ſleep is ſeemingly diminiſhed in all animals whoſe ſtomachs are weakened in proportion as the blood is heated. In burning climates nature has produced an increaſe of aromatic plants, without a great uſe of which, no perſon would be long able to digeſt his food. It follows from this obſervation, that the people of ſuch countries have their vital ſpirits much more augmented, becauſe they have leſs ſleep: for there is nothing but that repoſe, natural or artificial, which can calm the vital ſpirits. What we would call a poetical enthuſiaſm, is in them a violent ecſtacy; ſo that they can ſcarcely find language ſtrong enough to deſcribe what they are perſuaded in

in themſelves they conceive; to ſuch a degree, that Pindar's verſes would be but as creeping proſe, compared with their poetry. I have long perceived that the monſters and chimeras which are conſtantly produced in eaſtern ſculpture and painting, ſpring from the ſame ſource with the exaggerated metaphors and allegories of their poets. It is the ſame heat of imagination which keeps them equally wide of good ſenſe in all they ſay and do, and prevents both one and the other from producing any thing natural.

The Nepenthe is uſed in Egypt by ſome people every day, as opium in ſome other countries; and the doſe is, by degrees, increaſed to half a drachm, when it will make a man ſo far forget the hiſtory of his life, that he has not the leaſt trace of what is paſſed, nor any reflection about the future. It is the art of turning brute, and arriving the neareſt that is poſſible to that ſort of felicity which one may ſuſpect to be in animals, in which they, very probably, have no idea of death; that is to ſay, that there is no beaſt which knows that he is to die, not even when he ſees the dead bodies of his fellow-creatures before

before him, nor even when he is expiring; whilſt this apprehenſion agitates and affrightens ordinary perſons, even in the midſt of their paſtimes: for I ſpeak not of philoſophers who are above all ſuch alarms, and in that ſtate of repoſe which is the reward of virtue.

The Chineſe have been extremely wide of fixing the bounds of parental authority. It may be doubted indeed if they ever thought about it; for over and above the right of ſelling their children, the legiſlature gives them a power of life and death, to authorize infanticide, which in that country is practiſed in many different ways. The midwives ſtifle the children in warm water, and are paid regularly for the execution. They are alſo thrown into the river at Pekin, after tying a gourd to their backs, where they ſometimes float a long time before they expire. Their cries would in any other country ſhock all human nature; but they are ſo much accuſtomed to it there as not to regard it. A third manner in which they get rid of them, is to expoſe them in the ſtreets, that the dung-carts, which paſs by in the mornings at Pekin, may take them up and carry them to the dung-hills:

dung-hills: they generally put them into a ditch where they are not covered over, in hopes that the Mahometans may take ſome of them away; but before theſe tumbrels come to them, it often happens that they are eaten alive by dogs, or above all by hogs, which are very numerous in the ſtreets. This atrocity is without example even amongſt the Antropophagi: the cauſe exiſts in their inſatiable avarice.

The Jeſuits aſſure us, that in three years only, they have reckoned nine thouſand ſeven hundred and two children ſo deſtined to the dunghill; but they have not counted thoſe trodden under foot by the horſes and mules, nor thoſe eaten by dogs and hogs, nor thoſe ſtrangled as ſoon as they were born, nor thoſe deſtroyed by other means.

It may be deemed wonderful that in the variety of knowledge of the Egyptians, they ſhould have been without ovens. The chickens were hatched in a manner, that the emperor Hadrian ſays, faſtidiouſly enough, in a man who had built a temple to Antinous, "*Pudet dicere*" in dung-hills. That method

is

is now abandoned. Our author thinks that the oſtrich might have furniſhed the firſt hint, and that the mode of raiſing bees in Virgil's Georgics, came from the Egyptians.

He obſerves of drinking tea and coffee, and ſo generally of all warm beverages, that there is a kind of charm that bewitches thoſe who are accuſtomed to them; inſomuch, that all the power of deſpotiſm could not make the Turks and Chineſe renounce, the one their coffee, the other their tea.

There is no proper inducement to engage the people of China to live in the country; for which reaſon they find more encouragement for their avarice by crowding to the cities on the ſea ſhores.

It is very extraordinary that the art of making porcelaine, ſhould be of ſuch ancient date in Aſia; and in thoſe countries where it was known, they ſhould have made no glaſs till the middle of the laſt century.

In China, from avarice or poverty, men are found who will take the baſtinado for another for a ſum of money, which the magiſtrate permits: ſo that one is puniſhed he cares not.

The Egyptians had a method of diſtributing fires to prevent contagion.* This ſecret was communicated to Acron, a Sicilian, and by him to the Greek phyſicians.

The

* It is without doubt that the uſe of ventilators, and vinegar in the appartments, are beneficial to the health of the crews on ſhip-board. But it ſeems to me very probable, that the great ſucceſs of Captain Cook, in the preſervation of his men, was owing to the fires he ſo frequently made between the decks. Fire is the greateſt devourer in nature of foul air. If the ſociety for the encouragement of the Arts and Sciences, who do ſo much good, with ſo much honour to themſelves, ſhould favour this opinion, a premium from them might produce ſomething more commodious for that purpoſe than is known, both as to the machine, and the matter to be burnt in it. Perhaps the reſinous woods ſhould be preferred.

TRANSLATOR.

The artificial method of hatching chickens, is peculiar to the Egyptians. Monſ. Maillet propoſed ſending ſome perſons into France to effect it there; but finding that the Sheic, or prieſt, was concerned in the management, he thought, that every neglect or miſtake would be attributed to his abſence, on which he declined it.

It is obſerved by ſeveral travellers, that the people in the hot climates of Aſia, never perform any labour but to the ſound of ſome inſtrument, generally of the ſharp caſt; which may be attributed to the lazineſs of the mind, which requires conſtant rouſing.

Thoſe who are deſirous of being acquainted with the moſt circumſtantial details, which relate to the Chineſe and Egyptians, as to their manner of living with their women, religions, mode of nouriſhment, in which the dietetic regimens of the Egyptians are ſo different, not only from the Chineſe, but the whole world; their architecture, and in fine every thing that can diſtinguiſh one people from

from another, will conſult the original, where they will receive the fulleſt conviction of the author's diſcriminative powers,—Learning and Induſtry.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

SPARTANS OR LACEDEMONIANS.

TRANSLATED FROM

LES

RECHERCHES PHILOSOPHIQUES

SUR LES

G R E C S.

PAR

MONS. DE PAUW.

THIS Work was Publiſhed ſince the death of the Author; in which the Spartans are placed in a point of view ſo different from the general repreſentations of that people, that it may be deemed a New Hiſtory.

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OF THE

LACEDEMONIANS.

I.

Preliminary Obſervations upon this People.

BEFORE the art of judging of nations had been reduced to certain rules and principles, one was, in this reſpect, embarraſſed with ſuch uncertainty, that every thing relative to national vices and virtues, was ſpoken at random.

The moſt hyperbolical praiſes were generally beſtowed on military nations; and hiſtorians, who are rarely philoſophers, ſaw nothing

nothing greater in the wide range of the ancient world, than the pretended exploits of the Lacedemonians; who, notwithſtanding, have never quitted the claſs of Barbarians, ſince they neither cultivated the ſciences nor arts. They knew only how to ſharpen javelins and poniards, and to plunder thoſe who were weaker than themſelves; and in the end, they made of the city of Lacedemon, what Plato calls the Lion's-den, where almoſt all the gold and ſilver of Greece were ſwallowed up. It is eaſy to diſcover the courſes by which theſe immenſe treaſures were introduced, but not to find out the traces of their departure.

This depredation, maintained during ſeveral ages by robbers truly inſatiable, forms the moſt gloomy picture of the whole Grecian hiſtory. One ſees inceſſantly perfidy in concert with open force, and the moſt ſacred notions of juſtice yield to the ſlighteſt allurement of a ſordid intereſt.

The moſt inconſiſtent work ever written reſpecting the Lacedemonians, is a diſſertation of Mr. de Gourcy; and one is vexed to be obliged to add, that this diſſertation has even been crowned by the academy of inſcriptions

ſcriptions at Paris, much like the manner in which the tragedies of Denys the tyrant were crowned at Athens.

Nevertheleſs, Mr. de Gourcy was ignorant of the firſt elements of hiſtorical criticiſm, and abſolutely had not any kind of penetration to diſtinguiſh the groſſeſt errors from the moſt ſtriking truths. He was not content to raiſe Lycurgus above the common rank of men, but he makes a god of him: and according to him, human nature never produced a genius comparable to his.*

It is difficult to find expreſſions adequate to characterize an enthuſiaſm ſo abſurd, and which diſcovers ſuch profound ignorance of ancient hiſtory; where never any perſon was leſs known, or really more obſcure than Lycurgus.

Plutarch owns†, without any reſervation, that the Greeks abſolutely knew nothing poſitive relative to this man, and he relates the fables ſpread reſpecting him, without being

* Hiſtorie Philoſophique et Politique des loix de Lycurgue, p. 52.

† Introduction a la vie de Lycurgue.

able to quote two authors who are exactly of opinion concerning any of these fables.

There is nothing surprizing in the uncertainty of the Greeks on this head, when one considers, that the pretended institutions attributed to Lycurgus, were never digested in a written form; and, that at this time, we know no one, the authenticity of which is warranted, according to the rules of sound criticism.

Formerly, no person at Lacedemon applied to the study of literature and history: they lived in an absolute ignorance of antiquity. The learned of the other parts of Greece had little inclination to travel into a district so unhospitable; where strangers were horribly persecuted. And, at this day, no philosopher is tempted to go to Cape Tenaros, to study the manners and customs of the Laconian robbers, called *Manotes*; where, on the first landing, they are stript, and assassinated if they penetrate the interior parts of the country.

Hellanicus, the most ancient Greek historian, maintained, that Lycurgus had never been a legislator at Lacedemon*; and, if by this

* Strabon, Geographie, Lib. 8.

this vague term of legiſlator, we wiſh ſtrictly to deſcribe one who puts a ſociety into order and gives a ſtate a form of civil government, one cannot deny but that Hellanicus is right in this ſenſe: for none of the great political inſtitutions of the Spartans could be the work of Lycurgus, ſince, long before his birth, they had two kings at the ſame time at Lacedemon; and that, yet long after his death, they there created the five annual Ephori. But it is preciſely upon this combined power of the kings and ephori, that the civil government reſted. As to the ſenate of old men, the Dorians had already, even before they conquered Lacedemon, a council of that kind; and we know, that amongſt all the ſavages on earth, no authority is above that of the old men. It is inſtinct which has taught this to men in a ſtate of nature; and that which inſtinct teaches, we are ſure to find again in all climates.

In ſhort, it is a fact, that Lycurgus did not inſtitute the Ephori; and it is another truth, that he was not the inſtitutor of the double royalty or diarchy of Sparta, which muſt be eſteemed as merely the effect of chance. A queen was brought to bed of male twins, and whether by the intrigues of this princeſs, as Herodotus

as Herodotus ſays, or by any other influence now unknown, it was then decided at court that the twins ſhould reign together, and that their poſterity ſhould make an exact partition of the monarchy between them. This deciſion oppoſed to the firſt notions of ſound policy, gave place to two collateral dynaſties; ſeated at the ſame time upon the ſame throne, one was called the race of the Agides, and the other the race of the Euripontides.

The weight of this double royalty was ſuch, that it ought at firſt to have cruſhed all national liberty, and afterwards excited a civil war between the reigning branches; of which, according to the natural progreſs of immoderate ambition, one ſhould have extinguiſhed the other in its blood. There is no need of great penetration to anticipate ſuch cataſtrophes, and it is not ſurpriſing that the Lacedemonians, threatened then with the greateſt of misfortunes, did in the end eſtabliſh a magiſtracy capable of balancing the power of the two kings, and moreover capable of terminating the inceſſant diſſentions of ſuch rivals.

The race of the Euripontides, which was the weakeſt and the leaſt reſpected, becauſe it was

was properly the younger branch, ſhew all the favour it could to the inſtitution of the ephori, which indubitably would have been annihilated by the race of the Agides, to which, the throne, in right of priority, belonged.*

Of all the whimſical arrangements, in which Lycurgus had never the leaſt ſhare, the reſult was a form of government ſo irregular, that no Greek politician could ever define it, nor has any nation ever attempted to imitate it. Indeed we ſee that this government was neither the efforts of reaſon, nor the inſpiration of human wiſdom, but the effect of chance, or the blind cauſe which produced the princes; and if a queen had not lain-in of twins, there never would have been two kings at the ſame time at Lacedemon.

All that we have been able to diſcover hitherto, concerning Lycurgus, that is probable, is, that he paſſed into the iſle of Crete, and from thence brought to Sparta, ſome mi-

* It was king Theopompus, of the younger branch of the Euripontides, who engaged the Lacedemonians to create the ephori, one hundred and thirty years after the death of Lycurgus. He did it, he ſaid, for the ſafety of himſelf and family.

litary

litary cuſtoms and exerciſes belonging to that people; conſequently, he was neither a creative genius, nor an original one, and much leſs a man inſpired by the divinity, as ſome enthuſiaſts of old days have ſaid, and as ſome enthuſiaſts of our times have repeated.

We ſee ſo marked a reſemblance between the Cretan and Lacedemonian inſtitutions, that the greater part of the Greek authors confeſs, that ſuch an analogy could be the effect only of a ſervile imitation. Polybius is the only one who has oppoſed this generally received opinion in Greece, but his arguments are ſo weak and inconcluſive, that in this reſpect he has been quitted by his own partiſans.

The Cretans, at the ſame time ſhepherds and hunters, were divided into a great number of independent colonies, who, during the civil war, mutually robbed each others herds; and on account of this diſcord, were plundered by the pirates and free-booters of the Mediterranean, who landed on their coaſts. This critical ſituation inſpired the Cretans with the idea of being always armed, to form barracks of ſoldiers, who dined in common

common,and went through the military exercises; the most necessary of exercises, in order to protect their possessions from the neighbouring colonists, and foreign free-booters.

These institutions appeared very sensible to the Lacedemonians, who were a small number, in the middle of a large country that they had conquered by reducing the ancient inhabitants to slavery; in such sort, that they were as much in fear of their own slaves as the Cretans were of each other.

No inhabitant of Laconia, who had submitted to the Spartans, dared to have in his house—sword, javelin, or arrow; and, tho' they were thus disarmed, they butchered them in secret, to reduce them lower and lower. It is generally known, that the young men of Lacedemon, armed with a cuirass, helmet, and lance, hunted the Helotes naked and destitute of every kind of defensive weapon; they drew them into ambuscades, and afterwards attacked them with arms in their hands; as wild beasts fall upon a herd of cattle they have watched into a narrow part of a deep valley.

Plato

Plato and Ariſtotle aſſert, that it was Lycurgus himſelf who taught the Spartans this dreadful policy; and to calm the remorſe which ſuch perfidies and murders might excite in the moſt atrocious minds, they contrived to make a kind of declaration of war againſt the Helotes, in profound peace. As ſoon as the Ephori entered upon their charge, mounted on their tribunal, they give publick notice that any one might kill as many of thoſe ſlaves as they could poſſibly draw into an ambuſcade; and in one day they decoyed to the number of two thouſand, who were ſtabbed to the heart with poniards at the feet of the houſhold-gods, where the Lacedemonians had invited them under pretext of giving them their liberty. They firſt crowned them with feſtoons of flowers, as was cuſtomary with freed-men, and then ſacrificed them as victims, or as beaſts in a ſlaughter-houſe.

When they dared to ſay that ſuch inſtitutions were approved of by the oracle at Delphos, we are bound, above all things, to believe that this pretended god of Delphos, was himſelf an unnatural monſter, who could give his ſanction to a code dictated by perfidy and

and written in characters of blood. It is thus that we have fallen from one abſurdity to another in ſuch a confuſion of ideas, as have never been equalled amongſt men.

In order to diſentangle ſuch a chaos as this, it is firſt neceſſary to have a clear conception of this country of Greece, which they called Laconia, where the earth was embrued with ſo much blood, ſhed by the moſt barbarous of conquerors.

II.

General Deſcription of Laconia.

THE whole ſurface of the Peleponneſus may be compared to the figure of a cone, the top of which is in Arcadia. From this ſort of pike are detached two chains of rocks, which are lengthened from north to ſouth, even into the boſom of the Mediterranean, where, on one ſide they form Cape Tenaros, and on the other Cape Malea: all the ſpace between theſe two arms and the ſea coaſts were properly called Laconia; which, from the confines of Angolis to thoſe of Meſſenia,

incloſed near one hundred and fifty ſquare leagues.

This country, at a diſtance, bore the appearance of a bowl or baſon, ſurrounded in the greateſt part of its circumference with very high mountains, cloathed with thick foreſts of firs, where the armies of the enemy could ſcarcely make their way through; but once theſe heights were gained, there was a regular deſcent to the bottom of a long valley watered by the Eurotas. The principal ornament of this river, ſo celebrated in the mythology, conſiſted in thickets of myrtle and laurel, which naturally adorned its banks, and in a prodigious quantity of ſwans that covered its waters, which the moſt ſolid banks could ſcarcely contain after the melting of the ſnows: whilſt in the middle of ſummer the Eurotas was not navigable for the ſmalleſt boats.

The city of Sparta or Lacedemon ſtood on the north part of this valley, where, in a long extent, one could ſee nothing but vineyards, avenues of planes, plantations of olive trees, gardens, and pleaſure houſes, which furniſhed, as Xenophon obſerves, an immenſe booty to the troops of Epaminondas, after the

the battle of Leuctra; and thoſe who had ſo often pillaged all the Grecian ſtates, were then plundered in their turn as they deſerved.*

As ſoon as they left Lacedemon, riſing towards the ſouth, they got to Amyclæ, where the habitations ſurpaſſed all others in the beauty of their ſituation; and this diſtrict was at the ſame time the moſt fertile of Laconia, and the moſt rural abode of the Peleponneſus. In the ſpring the fields were intirely variegated with wild hyacinths; and Polybius aſſures us, that the beauty of the trees and the vivacity of their verdure, diſputed the preference with the fruits in beauty. The only inconvenience to be complained of there, conſiſted in a degree of heat almoſt inſupportable, occaſioned by the proximity of Mount Taygetus, which, on the approach of the ſummer ſolſtice, reflected the ſun's rays; whilſt in winter the tops of the rock are hid with a bed of ſnow, which ſailors diſcover at a great diſtance, even in the month of May, under the appearance of a whitiſh cloud, which hides the horizon of the Morea from their view.

* Xenophon, Helleniques. Liv. 6.

Lacedemon

Lacedemon placed at the diſtance of eight leagues from the neareſt ſea coaſt, could never beome a very commercial city; for this unfavourable poſition in all reſpects excluded it from the commercial ſphere of Greece, on account of the impoſſibility of getting up the Eurotas with loaded veſſels. As the Lacedemonians had however need of a magazine to keeptheir naval forces together, and a part of their merchant ſhips, they choſe the city of Gythion for this purpoſe, ſituated at the mouth of a little river which empties itſelf into the Laconic Gulph, in a place now known by the name of Colokythia; there they hollowed out a ſpacious baſon, defended on one ſide by piers, and on the other by ſo many ramparts and fortifications, that Epaminondas and Philip ſon of Demetrius could not force this port in the midſt of their victories, and after they had routed all the armies on land. This circumſtance alone ſhows the error of thoſe who imagine that the Spartans, truſting to their valour, had never entrenched themſelves in the middle of Laconia. It was from reaſons purely political that they dared not to incloſe the capital in walls, leſt one of their kings, or both at once, might become deſpotic; but as it was decreed by a poſitive

a poſitive law, that the kings could never command their fleets, they feared not the influence of their power over the marine of Gythion, where they not only fitted out the ſquadrons, but freighted the merchant ſhips deſtined for Crete, Africa and Egypt; where Thucydides aſſures us that the inhabitants of Laconia carried on a regular trade, and as they had an irreſiſtible inclination for piracy, their privateers were in time of war the ſcourge of Athenian merchants, who, to inſure the carriage of the gold and ſilver coin, had recourſe, as we have ſeen,* to the operations of exchange, and ſo put a part of their fortune under the protection of the Spartan Corſairs.

As ſoon as one left the long valley, watered by the Eurotas, the ground was more elevated, and conſequently leſs fertile; where the unevenneſs of the ground, rendered all ploughing exceſſively incommodious to all draught cattle; in ſuch a manner, that the production of this ſoil was far from equalling that of the low lands, ſituated between Pelena and Sellaſia, which the Lacedemo-

* The manner of inſurance is explained in a former part, and their acquaintance with ſtock-jobbing.

nian

nian nobility ſeized at the time of the conqueſt, leaving to the lower order, ſays Iſocrates, the ſtoney fields of difficult culture: from whence aroſe an infinity of complaints and remonſtrances againſt the agrarian laws, which were ſo manifeſtly unjuſt, that one can call them nothing but a robbery or a tyranny.†

By a neceſſary conſequence of this diſpoſition of ground, ſuch as we have deſcribed it, ſome cities ſituated on the declivity of the mountains, where they could collect the brooks and ſources which deſcended from the heights, had an abundance of water, whilſt others remote, near the ſea coaſts, felt a great ſcarcity; as at Pyrrhica and Cyphanta. It was preciſely in this ſpot, Pauſanius ſays,‡ that Atalanta, returning from hunting, and being thirſty, ſtruck the rock with her javelin, and cauſed a fountain to ſpout out.

The impoſſibility of the Lacedemonian huſbandmen to form meadows and paſtures on the high lands, made an eſtabliſhment of

† Iſocrates, Panath. p. 418.

‡ Pauſenias, Laconiques, C. 23.

cavalry

cavalry very expenſive, and gave riſe to that curſe they beſtowed on all their enemies: "may you, ſaid they, be obliged to raiſe banks againſt the Eurotas, build houſes, keep horſes, and have a perfidious wife!" This was, according to their notions, an almoſt infallible mode to ruin them, and to ruin them uncomfortably.

The moſt eaſtern part of Laconia, that was formerly called the Maleatide coaſt, is now by corruption called Malvaſie, was well furniſhed with vineyards, but naturally little wooded and little frequented by game; whilſt towards the foot of mount Taygetus, the vaſt foreſt of mount Enoras, harboured deer, ſtags, wild boars, and above all that race of bears which infeſted all the mountains of Greece, and there formed a kind of indigenous animals.

After traverſing the wood of Enoras, at the utmoſt diſtance was ſeen the top of two ſteep rocks, that the inhabitants of that coaſt called the Thyrides; they were raiſed in the form of an immenſe obeliſk upon the promontory of Tenarus, the baſe of which is excavated by the operations of ſubterranean fires, and the black marble there raiſed

ſed really belongs to the claſs of lavas. It is at the very entrance of theſe caverns, blackened by the ſmoke of the ancient volcanos, that the mythologiſts placed not only the gates of the poetic hell, but moreover, the throne of the winds, the courſe of the ſtorms, and the ſtable of Neptune's horſes, whoſe temple, cut out of the rock in the ſhape of a grotto, was ſurrounded with a foreſt of firs, the obſcurity of which increaſed the horror of this landſcape; where no other ſound was heard but the roaring of the waves of the Mediterranean, which raiſed a froth againſt the breakers of Tenarus, often covered with the fragments of veſſels daſhed in pieces by the tempeſts. No place in all ancient Greece combined in ſo ſmall a ſpace, ſo many doleful appearances; but nothing diſtreſſed the traveller ſo much, as the ruins he met with at the mouth of the Eurotas, which were the ruins of the unfortunate Helos, whoſe inhabitants were reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery, ſo much the more oppreſſive, as the military ſervice was united to the ſlavery of tilling the ground, from which even the negroes are exempt; whilſt the Helotes were always placed in the front of the Spartan battalions, in ſuch a way, that all the fury of the enemy fell upon them.

Helos

Helos, before its deſtruction, was reckoned amongſt the hundred cities that ſtood formerly on a ſpace of one hundred and fifty ſquare leagues, in Laconia. The greater part of theſe habitations, conſtructed along the coaſts by the ancient Achaians, were ſucceſſively deſtroyed during the Spartan wars; and thoſe which eſcaped thoſe flames, yielded to the horrible earthquakes occaſioned by the conflagration of volcanic ſubſtances, incloſed in the boſom of Mount Taygetus, and in the caverns of Tenarus. It ſeems as if nature and mankind had conſpired the ruin of this country; of which, no part was more cruelly plundered, ſays Polybius, than this which joined Arcadia and Argolis, where the fights and maſſacres were without end. The Lacedemonians were always encroaching upon the domains of the neighbouring nations, who drove back the aggreſſors with fire and ſword; ſo that the earth was ſcattered with carcaſſes, aſhes, and ruins.

At the time when Strabo lived, the hundred cities of Laconia were reduced to thirty towns, which Pauſanias has much embelliſhed by his deſcription; for he had the art to ſee great things, where more judicious obſervers ſcarcely ſaw ſhadows. In the ſame

manner Titus Livius mentions all the dwellings of this country ruined by war, as little towns and fortifications, *Vici et Caſtella*; if we except Gythion and Sparta.

The natives of Laconia, who were the moſt unfortunate people that ever exiſted on the face of the earth, could formerly furniſh an army of thirty thouſand fighting men, as Ariſtotle poſitively affirms: but by the conſequence of a military government, of itſelf deſtructive, they ſhared the lot which the cities had experienced; and after many ages of wars and deveſtations, they ſaw themſelves reduced to a handful of men, who were either ſlaves or beggars. The depopulation was yet more rapid amongſt the Lacedemonians of the Doric race; of which, according to Macrobius, there were not fifteen hundred individuals left in the reign of the laſt Agis; and ſeven hundred only, according to Plutarch's calculation.*

King Cleomenes, who ſucceeded Agis, ſeeing the ſtate almoſt extinct for want of men, created nine thouſand citizens, drawn from the claſs of emancipated Helotes, and

* Saturnales, lib. 1. c. 11.—Plutarch's Life of Agis.

the

the tributary Laconians. He had but juſt finiſhed this operation, when, hurried on by his ordinary raſhneſs, he had the imprudence to lead this new people to war, and engage in a moſt bloody battle with the Macedonians, which he completely loſt. So that after this general defeat, they reckoned no more than two hundred Lacedemonians, who were, for the moſt part, exterminated by the tyrant Nabis.*

The pilots of antiquity laid the length of the coaſts of Laconia at three days navigation, to ſuch veſſels as uſed oars and followed all the ſinuoſities of the land. The true point of departure was at the mouth of a brook named the Little Palmeſa, under the walls of the city of Leuctra, where Laconia began to the weſt, and ſtretched towards the eaſt to the port of Praſia, upon the Argolic gulph. During this courſe many different iſlands were ſeen, none of which were inhabited, except Cythera, which was looked upon as belonging to the continent, from which it was ſeparated only by a canal five hundred paces wide, but very difficult to paſs in

* Plutarch.—Life of Cleomenes.

ſtormy

ſtormy weather ; for then they riſked their ſhips being caſt againſt the promontory of Malea, of which, the very ſight made the Greek navigators turn pale, who were not very deeply ſkilled in their buſineſs ; ſince it had been very eaſy to avoid this dangerous ſtrait, become celebrated for a thouſand ſhipwrecks ; they had only to ſtand on ſouthward, and double the point Cythera, whoſe inhabitants were generally eſteemed very induſtrious and very economical. Such was the character of all the little colonies ſpread over the moſt ſterile iſlands of the Archipelago. They compared them to men who had formerly been ants, who in changing their form had preſerved their manners : to labour, heap up, and not to enjoy, were the three things they preferred to all others.*

One needs only land at Cythera to be convinced of the exceſſive vanity of the ancient mythologiſts, whoſe confuſed imagination of the real local ſtate of this iſland, fixed on it as the ſeat of voluptuouſneſs; "in fields conſtantly covered with flowers, under myrtle bowers conſecrated to love," whilſt one could ſee no-

* Heraclide du Pont, C. 24. Ovid Metam. lib. 7. F. 25.

thing

thing but a heap of frightful lofty aeriel rocks, which, according to the periple of Scylax, in its greateſt length, was only a hundred ſtadia; among the interſtices of theſe rocks one might cultivate ſuch ſhrubs as the vine and fig tree, but could raiſe no other alimentary grain than barley, nor feed other domeſtic animals than herds of goats: but as Laconia was not a country of gaiety, the goatherds were never heard to ſing like the ſhepherds of Arcadia, along the Alphea and the Ludon.

Thucydides affirms, that during the Peloponneſian war, when the Athenians conquered Cythera, they could obtain a tribute only of 400 attic talents, about 18,000 French livres; ſo that it was purely the commodious ports of this iſland, which particularly intereſted the republic of Lacedemon in the poſſeſſion of it; who had here formed, in the great road of Scandea, a magazine, and harbour for their merchant veſſels. And formerly, in times of the moſt remote antiquity, the Phœnicians had an eſtabliſhment there, which is at thisday called *Phenicori*. There is not the leaſt doubt amongſt the learned who have ſtudied the Greek paganiſm, that the *Venus Urania*, which the

the Cytherians repreſented under the figure of a woman in armour, was originally the ſame divinity as the *Phœnician Aſtarté*. They were induced to come to this iſland by the abundance of ſhell-fiſh which they procured on theſe coaſts for dying purple, of which, there were many manufactures in Laconia. But they never could arrive at the vivacity and brightneſs of colour that the Tyrians had the art to beſtow; and the ſtuffs of this part of Greece, expoſed to ſale by the ſide of thoſe from Syria, looked faded, like madder, by the ſide of ſcarlet.*

As to the other natural productions of Laconia, it was above all rich in wood for building; in mineral and metallic ſubſtances, as iron, lead, braſs, and ſtones coloured in the nature of green marble, and the emeralds of mount Taygetus. The arts they chiefly followed had for the moſt part ſome re-

* The iſland of Cythera had its name from the contracted term of Cerythera, which ſignifies a place where they fiſhed for purple ſhell fiſh, called in Greek *Ceryx*. The ancient name of the iſland which was Porphyruſa, had equally a relation to this ſhell fiſh, the ſymbol of the Cytherian Venus, which the ancient public criers of Greece uſed as a trumpet to aſſemble the people; they were therefore called Ceryces.

lation

lation to metallurgy, and the temper of cutting inſtruments, fabricated according to the Laconic mode, were ſo celebrated, that they obtained the preference in the Peloponneſian fairs, where joiners work, executed in the neighbourhood of Lacedemon, was equally ſought after; ſuch as chairs, tables, and above all, thoſe beds become ſo famous in the luxury of the ancients, under the name of Laconic beds, becauſe they were ſtuffed with the down of the ſwans frequenting the banks of the Eurotas, in the neighbourhood of Amiclæ.

Such was this country, firſt poſſeſſed by the ancient Achaians, and ſince conquered by the Spartans, who were originally of Mount Oeta, under the thirty-ninth degree of north latitude. There they occupied four or five paltry towns in a diſtrict very rough and barren, which properly formed the leſſer Doris.

Theſe highlanders of the Oeta were not ſavages according to all the rigour of terms, but ferocious barbarians, who ſacrificed human victims, and threw their new-born infants to the dung-hill; a cuſtom they have ſince attributed to Lycurgus, but which, according

cording to appearances, belonged to times much more remote. This race of men, perſecuted in the Doride, by cold, hunger, and miſery, upon rocks almoſt always covered with ſnow, bethought themſelves of ſeeking a new country, and began to emigrate fourſcore years after the ſiege of Troy. It was then divided into different hordes, and conducted by different chieftains they ſometimes called *Bagoi*, at other times *Archagètes*. Theſe caciques, the iſſue of the little kings of the Doride, had the vanity to draw their origin from Hercules; and in a country where all the inhabitants compoſed romantic and ridiculous genealogies, they were far from calling in queſtion the genealogy of the Heraclides, as they were ſucceſsful conquerors, and, conſequently, right noble. In ſhort, they were deſcended from Hercules, as Alcibiades was deſcended from Jupiter, and Julius Ceſar from Venus.

Theſe emigrants departed from Mount Oeta, keeping a direct ſouth courſe, arrived at the gulph of Corinth, which they paſſed in canoes to Naupactus, and by dint of maſſacres and devaſtations, they managed ſo as to ſubdue a great part of the Peloponneſus, and chiefly Laconia, which in the diviſion fell

fell to the Doric horde, the moſt brutal and barbarous of all.

III.

Of the Manner in which the Spartans treated Laconia, after its conqueſt.

AT the approach of theſe pitileſs uſurpers, who overſet the moſt flouriſhing ſtates of the Peloponneſus, and put all to fire and ſword, a great many of the Achaians ſaved themſelves from Laconia, and the flight was almoſt general in the parts neareſt to the Argolide country and Arcadia: but the inhabitants of Helos retired towards the ſouth, to the mouth of the Eurotas, could not eſcape; and as their city was of difficult acceſs, on account of marſhes which ſurrounded it, they made a long reſiſtance; but without ſuccour from any one, they were at length obliged to bend their neck, and receive the yoke.

The other cities of Laconia which had not been totally abandoned by the ancient natives, were declared tributary, and deſpoiled

of their priveleges, and every kind of municipal right; in ſuch ſort, that cities had leſs power and leſs influence in the civil government of Lacedemon, than the villages of Attica, in the republic of Athens.*

After having ſtretched the right of conqueſt to the extreme, the Spartans ſeized the beſt lands to divide amongſt themſelves, of which they formed a kind of fiefs, which paſſed then from the father to the eldeſt ſon, but never to the youngeſt. One could not contrive, ſays a Greek politician, more vicious inſtitutions, nor more proper to deſtroy all idea, and all equality of the natural power of citizens; ſeeing, that the families iſſuing from the yonnger branches poſſeſſed nothing, and were ſucceſſively reduced to a ſtate of manifeſt indigence.

By a ſecond operation, no better digeſted than the firſt, the women were declared capable to ſucceed to theſe ſort of feudal portions; and they did ſo, in ſuch a manner, that at the time when Ariſtotle wrote, the greater part of the lands of Laconia were in the hands of theſe women, whom they called *Epicléres*,

* Iſocrates, Panath. p. 419.

or

or univerſal heireſſes of all the male branches, extinct by the dreadful effects of a military government.

Nothing is more chimerical than the pretended project attributed to Lycurgus, who was deſirous, ſay they, to eſtabliſh an equality of fortune amongſt the Lacedemonians; for one conceives this equality could never reſult from a partition of lands in a mountainous country, where the ancient land-ſurveyors did not know how to form two portions exactly equivalent. And it was only in times much later, that geometricians at length found out that uneven grounds did not produce in proportion to their real ſurface, but in proportion to their horizontal plane: as the rain and dew fall nearly in a perpendicular line, and as vegetables follow the ſame direction in their growth, it follows hence, that a convex piece of ground can never be fairly valued according to the contents of its ſuperficies, but always to its plane ſurface. One may be even aſtoniſhed that the Academy of Sciences of Paris, in the middle of the eighteenth century, ſhould have given a deciſion touching this problem, that may be found

found already ſolved in a work of Frontinus, who wrote in the time of Trajan.*

Beſides, in the diviſion of Laconia, there were other great injuſtices: to the inferior people were aſſigned only the high grounds, ſloping from the mountains, very difficult to cultivate; though the geometrical contents were the ſame with thoſe which the Lacedemonian nobility took for themſelves in the long valley of the Eurotas.

But independently of all theſe conſiderations, it is very eaſy to comprehend that a diviſion of lands, made with all the exactneſs imaginable, can never eſtabliſh any equality of fortune amongſt any people, or in any ſociety whatever: for thoſe citizens who have a numerous progeny, are, from that moment, more poor than thoſe who have few, or none; for the weight of the family is augmented, whilſt the income, from the dependance, remains the ſame; and when afterwards another diviſion is to be made,

* Quidquid de terra naſcitur, in aerem rectum exit; et illam terræ obliquitatem creſcendo atterit, nec majus ſpatium occupat, quam si de plano naſcatur.

FRONT. DE RE AGRAGRIA, p. 283.

the

the portions are reſpectively ſmaller as the heirs multiply; without ſaying any thing of ſo many accidents and diſaſters which day and night occurs from fires, loſs of cattle, want of knowledge in the different ſpecies of farming, which alone are ſufficient to ruin ſome and enrich others. There is no remedying theſe inconveniences by the introduction of the right of elderſhip, or of the firſt born, ſince that in its nature is deſtructive of all equality, and beggars all the younger children.

As then the equality of fortune is to be reckoned in the number of thoſe things which are ſhown to be morally and phyſically impoſſible, it follows that thoſe men who pretended to be philoſophers, as Rouſſeau, and hiſtorians, as Plutarch, have attributed to Lycurgus, intentions and projects, the abſurdity of which, a child now-a-days can eaſily conceive.

In fine, ſince the 24th olympiad, that is to ſay, towards the year 684 before our era, there was no exiſtence at Sparta of any thing like an equality of fortune amongſt the citizens, of which, ſome were reduced to ſuch a wretched ſtate, as to raiſe a ſedition to obtain

tain a new diviſion of lands. And it is upon this occaſion that the poet Tyrtæus compoſed a poem, entitled Eunomy, or good Legiſlation, which did not quiet the clamours of the diſcontent, as Pauſanius pretends, who had need of ſomething very different from an elegy.

It is not without reaſon, that objections have been made to ſome very ſuperficial performances of Mr. de Mably, reſpecting the ancient Greeks, that there is neither truth nor probability in all that he ſays of Lycurgus, of the diviſion of lands, of Sparta, and the Spartans.* This manner of writing on a ſubject not underſtood, far from throwing light upon the ſubject, envelopes all literary attempts in difficulties, by ſubſtituting chimeras for realities, and conjectures for facts.

We muſt judge of the nature of political governments by the effects they produce in all other places where they are eſtabliſhed; and every where, that cities are ſeen ſucceſſively to fall into poverty and ruin, we may be cer-

* Examine Hiſtorique et Politique du Governement de Lacedemone, en reponſe aux doutes propoſees, par Mr. de Mably, par Vauvilliers, p. 25.

tain

tain that the government is oppreſſive, and conſequently unjuſt; ſince, inſtead of creating it deſtroys, and is conſtantly ſeen to paſs from one ſtate of miſery to another that is worſe. The deſcription of Laconia furniſhes a ſtriking example of all this: this country having for a long time been under the dominion of the Spartans of the Doric race, far from being ſo flouriſhing as when governed by ancient Achaians, preſented the face only of an unhappy country, depopulated, embrued with blood, and covered with the carcaſes from its cities.

Such will ever be the deſtiny of governments purely military: they riſe ſuddenly by conqueſt, and fall as quickly in loſing thoſe conqueſts; as it happened to Sparta, by a ſeries of events which it will ſuffice only to exhibit, in order to diſſipate all illuſions, both ancient and modern, on this ſubject.

IV.

Of the cauſes of the Riſe and Fall of Sparta.

THE general error of all thoſe who have written the hiſtory of Greece, conſiſts in a wrong

wrong conception of the cauſes and effects: they always believed, and always affirmed, that the power of the Lacedemonians, was derived from the nature of their laws and their civil and military inſtitutions and exerciſes only; whilſt this power was derived from their increaſe of ſtrength, which they acquired purely by the conqueſt of Meſſenia, and as ſoon as Epamindas had deprived them of this, by the battle of Leuctra, they were abſolutely incapable of ſupporting themſelves; and their annals from that time are an uninterrupted detail of defeats, calamities, and terrible overthrows.

Of all the authors of antiquity, Strabo was the beſt acquainted with the importance of Meſſenia, reſpecting the political balance of Greece; where no province, as he ſays, could be put in compariſon with it for good paſtures, fertility of ſoil, and mildneſs of climate; for the lofty mountains of Arcadia and Laconia, defended it againſt the cold north and north-eaſt winds: in fine, the ſurface of this country, filled with cattle, crops, and vineyards, appeared like a vaſt farm, if we except ſome little diſtricts of it, on the weſt ſide, between the points now called Capes Gallo and Navarino, where the ſoil partakes

partakes of a ſea ſand, ſpread upon the ſhore by the frequent riſings of the Mediterranean during earthquakes.

Meſſenia was in truth ſeperated from the Lacedemonian territory by a chain of mountains; but in this chain there were intervals and narrow ways by which they had communication with the neighbouring provinces, and the valley of Pellana was ſo acceſſible, that great armies paſſed through without poſſibility of hindrance to their march.

The richneſs and fertility of this beautiful part of Greece, ſo irritated the inſatiable deſires of the Lacedemonians, that they could not refrain from making incurſions, ſometimes with one pretence, at other times under another; till they came to an open and decided rupture in the year 744 before our era. This war was at laſt terminated by the conqueſt of Meſſenia, which contained near a hundred ſquare leagues; this increaſed the Spartan domain to that degree, that it alone poſſeſſed more country in Greece, than Argos, Corinth, Sicyon, Megara, and Athens, put together. It is not therefore ſurprizing, that with ſuch force, and ſuch power, ſhe ſo often dictated the law to little neighbouring

nations: thoſe who were ſo blind as not to perceive this, have no reaſon to boaſt of their penetration, which really amounts to nothing at all.

All the events relative to the Meſſenian war are too well known to require a recapitulation; but at that time it was obſerved, that the Meſſenians, had a decided advantage over the Spartans in bravery and military knowledge, who would infallibly have been worſted, if they had not ſucceeded in corrupting with their money, Ariſtocrates king of the Arcadians, who till then had been in alliance with the inhabitants of Meſſenia: he abandoned them in the heat of a deciſive engagement, by expoſing the centre of their army.

It was by this infamous treaſon that the Lacedemonians bought the moſt ſhameful victory, that ever any Greeks gained over other Grecians.

The Arcadians, who were unacquainted with this villainous bargain till its effects had operated, condemned the king Ariſtocrates to death, ſtoned him with their own hands, exterminated his family, left his body

dy unburied, and erected a monument upon mount Lyceus, in the face of all Peleponneſus, that the remembrance of this frightful perfidy might remain to the lateſt poſterity. No Lacedemonian could caſt his eyes upon the inſcription there engraved without bluſhing, and which two different authors have preſerved, without any variation.*

Now let us ſee what were the diſpoſitions and political arrangements that the conquerors made in Meſſenia after the conqueſt:

All the walled towns, except Ithone and Aſine, were diſmantled, and all the inhabitants who could not preſerve themſelves by flight, were reduced to ſlavery, though they were originally Dorians, and in ſome ſort brothers of the Lacedemonians. They forced them, even with arms in their hands, to take an oath of fidelity; as if an oath could ever be the effect of violence, which deſtroys all mutual engagement, and every kind of obligation to fulfil it.

After this formality, they announced to the Meſſenians that the half of the product of

* Polybius Hiſt. Lib. 4. and Pauſanias, Meſen. C. 22.

their

their lands ſhould every year be duly brought to Sparta, and that the cultivators, over and above what the ſoil required, ſhould perform the ſame military ſervice with the Helotes of Laconia, who in time of war furniſhed ſeven men, where the Spartans furniſhed but one.

To add to ſo many humiliations, a pomp yet more diſcouraging, they obliged the Meſſenians to come attired in mourning, to aſſiſt not only at the interments of their kings, but even at the funerals of the Lacedemonian Ephori.*

It is impoſſible to cite amongſt any conquering people, without excepting Tartars, Moguls, Turks, and the Mandhueſe of China, any example of ſuch a yoke impoſed on any conquered country whatever, either in Europe or Aſia.

As long as Sparta, ſovereign and deſpotic miſtreſs, could at its will diſpoſe of the combined force of Meſſenia, it was formidable to all the ſtates of Peloponneſus, of which no one poſſeſſed, in any degree, the means of at-

* Collection desFragmens de Tyrtee, par Mr.——

tack

tack and defence comparable to theirs; as all politicians know, who are the leaſt acquainted with the Grecian intereſts: ſo that the firſt ſtep of Epaminondas, after the battle of Leuctra, was, as we have ſaid, to deprive the Lacedemonians of Meſſenia, who had ruled this province with a brazen ſceptre, during a lapſe of 296 years; and this was the preciſe term of their power. Before this conqueſt, they had been only a very weak people; and when they had loſt it, they returned to the inſignificance from which they had emerged.

Thus the marvellous that ſome have been deſirous to find in their hiſtory, vaniſhes at the ſight of criticiſm, and there, where one expected to ſee the force of diſcipline and the power of military inſtitutions, there is nothing but a foreign and factitious force; that is to ſay, founded upon the acquiſition of a hundred ſquare leagues in ſpace, of the moſt fertile land of Greece: and in a country ſo limited, a hundred leagues were a world. To this firſt reſource they had the art to join many others, which it is neceſſary to know in detail; without which, we can form no exact idea of the genius and character of this people.

Of

V.

Of the Riches of Lacedemon, and the Avarice of the Spartans.

IT is very certain, ſays Plato, that the city of Lacedemon contains, at this time, more gold and ſilver than exiſts in all Greece beſides; and to make this evident, it ſuffices to point out the aſtoniſhing means they put in practice to accumulate theſe treaſures, as ill employed, as they were ill acquired:

Firſt, the Spartans doubled the ranſom of priſoners of war, and exacted the ſum of 200 drachmas of Egina for every man taken in arms: and it is upon the weight of this drachma, which was above that of Athens, that they regulated all the payments and operations of their finances.*

Nevertheleſs, in all the other Grecian ſtates, where they had more humanity and moderation, the ranſom of a ſimple ſoldier was only 100 attic drachmas; and this, ſays Ariſtotle,

* Herodotus, lib. 6. c. 79, the Drachma of Egi- was worth 25 French Sous.

was

was the cuſtom commonly received and followed.†

Thus the Lacedemonians demanded more than double what they paid to other military powers, and as they were continually waging war, the ſale of their priſoners only brought in immenſe ſums: without reckoning the booty they heaped together during their enterprizes, carried on by ſea and land, in the three parts of the then known world.

They had commiſſaries for the ſpecial purpoſe of ſelling to the higheſt bidder the ſpoils collected during a campaign.‡

They had beſides in their armies, three hundred inſpectors, whoſe buſineſs was to watch the moſt favourable opportunity to fall upon the baggage; and theſe gave the ſignal for pillage, when they ſaw the enemy's troops in ſuch diſorder that there was little proſpect of their return to the charge, to oppoſe the carrying off their baggage.§

† Ethiques, lib. 5. c. 10.

‡ Cragius de Repub. Laced. lib. p4. . 413.

§ Euſtathe, ſur l'Iliade. lib. 6.

Xenophon

Xenophon ſpeaks in his Hellenics of a general devaſtation of the Elide, where, ſays he, Agis king of Lacedemon took ſuch a prodigious number of ſlaves and cattle, that after the ſale they made of them, all Peloponneſus was filled with them; and yet we have had occaſion to remark, that the pillage of Attica yielded a more conſiderable booty to the Spartans than that of the Elide.

Independently of all the Lacedemonians could pillage ſword in hand, they received every year the half of the revenues of Meſſenia; of which, a part was appropriated to the particular eſtabliſhment of their kings. They received moreover, the contingent of the tributary cities of Laconia, of the iſle of Cythera, and of places conquered in Thrace. In ſhort, Herodotus and Thucydides ſpeak of them as a people who made a continual uſe of gold and ſilver; and it was by theſe means, from the moſt remote antiquity, that they engaged the Arcadian Ariſtocrates in that blackeſt of treacheries.

When they were deliberating upon the operations of the Peloponneſian war, and the manner of attacking the republic of Athens with all poſſible vigour, the king Archidamus

damus declared, without reſerve, in the midſt of the Lacedemonian council, and in the preſence of its allies, That money alone was the true nerve of war.* This is that axiom that the pretended politicians have ſince ſet above all other axioms; and Machiavel, who had improved himſelf in ſtudying the hiſtory of Sparta, ſays, in his commentaries upon Livy, that except in ſome particular inſtances, there is nothing can be brought to bear againſt this great principle, diſplayed in ſo few words by the genius of the Lacedemonians, who failed not to take the tenth part of all the ſpoils they found in the Perſian camp, after the battle of Platea; which conſiſted of precious metals, and jewels with which they have always ornamented, ſcymetars, poniards, and their horſe-harneſs.

The Spartan Pauſanias, who in this battle commanded the troops of his country, ſoon tarniſhed his name and memory, in ſelling himſelf and the ſafety of all Greece to the emperor Xerxes; for the price of this criminal cowardice, this prince paid to ſuch a traitor the prodigious ſum of five hundred

* Diſcours du Roi Archidame.—Thucydides, lib. 1.

talents of gold, which he carried to Lacedemon; where, not only the riches of the Greeks, ſays Plato, but even that of the Barbarians, were ſucceſſively ſwallowed up, by means the moſt extraordinary that were ever heard of amongſt men.*

As ſoon as the Perſians had been driven from the European continent, Sparta aſſumed an hauteur which alarmed many ſmall republics; but nothing appeared to them more inſupportable, than the inſolent inſcriptions put upon their trophies, where they did not deign to mention the auxiliary nations, who had the moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their valour, in repelling the common enemy. The inhabitants of the city Platea, who thought that their honour was eſſentially brought into queſtion by this injurious ſilence, cited the Lacedemonians before the tribunal of the ſtates general of Greece, entered an action againſt them, and got a thouſand talents damages, or four millions and a half of French livres.†

* Chryſum. Hiſt. de Perſe, cite par Stobee, c. 37. Plutarch compariſon of the Greeks and Romans, and Nepos' Life of Pauſanias.

† Demoſthenes contra Neera, p. 1377.

This

This notable ſtep of the Plateans, ſufficiently proves the error of thoſe who imagine that the Lacedemonians had at that time no other money than wedges of iron; the contrary of which has been ſhown by the ſpoils of the Perſians, which they carried off. Beſides, it would have been not only abſurd but ridiculous, to condemn them to pay a fine of four millions and a half, if they had not the means.

It is eaſy to conceive, that without a currency equal and equivalent to that which was in circulation, no people in Greece could have ſubſiſted in the Amphictyonic confederation; every kind of commerce and political connection with ſuch men, muſt have ceaſed. In ſhort, the Spartans were to furniſh their contingent in ſilver or gold to the common treaſury in the iſle of Delos, and to the particular treaſury of the Amphyctions, kept in Apollo's temple at Delphos. If they had been deſirous of depoſiting their iron ingots in that bank, they would have been excluded the general aſſociation; nor could they have ever had auxiliary troops in their pay. At the time of the 9th olympiad, they had a body of Cretan archers in their pay;

pay; which, during the Meſſenian war, they oppoſed to the enemy's light troops.*

Mr. Pelerin, to whom we are indebted for a moſt voluminous and inſtructing work, relative to the medals of the Grecian cities, has there renewed ſome ancient prejudices, or rather palpable errors: in ſuppoſing that Lyſander was the firſt that introduced the uſe of gold and ſilver at Lacedemon; notwithſtanding the multiplied proofs we have cited, ſhow, inconteſtibly, that many ages before Lyſander's birth, all ſorts of money, of all ſorts of metal, ſtruck in Europe and Aſia, had currency amongſt the Spartans; and there is no fact in all ancient hiſtory, which is better atteſted than that.

We know from Mr. Pelerin's own confeſſion, and from all thoſe who have written on Greek Numiſmatics, of a great number of medals in braſs and ſilver fabricated at Sparta; and if the gold of this city is not ſo well known, there is no wonder, ſince the gold coin of the Athenians is extremely rare; and the reaſon we have alledged in the article of the finances of this people, is ſuch, that it

* Pauſanias, Meſſeniaques, c. 8.

will

will satisfy those who will take the pains to think upon it attentively.

All that has been said of the weight of the Lacedemonian money, betrays an ignorance in the writers who have looked at this phenomenon as a fact unique and without example; since the Romans have had a brazen money-still more weighty, which in their tongue was called Œs grave. Livy affirms, that a cart was to be employed to carry a moderate sum, before gold and silver had been coined in Rome. Such was also the case of the Lacedemonians in the most remote antiquity, at a time when iron was more dear or precious amongst the inhabitants of the Peloponnesus than brass.

As for the rest it is indifferent, and indeed very indifferent, respecting the desires of mankind, whether one metal or another is employed to represent the value of things bought and sold; for whatever may be the essence or nature of the objects that avarice wishes to accumulate, its thirst is neither less violent nor less deadly.

As the heavy money of the ancient Romans changed nothing in the ordinary course of

of human paſſions amongſt them, neither did that of the Lacedemonians.

Mr. de Gourcy has argued on all theſe matters without knowing the ſtate of the queſtion. In his memoir, crowned at Paris, he has confounded all the facts, and he has moreover confounded all the epochas; ſince it was eaſy to diſcover, that at the time of Lycurgus, there were neither gold or ſilver coined in any part of Greece; from whence it follows, that there could be no laws made to proſcribe cuſtoms which did not exiſt, and which no one could foreſee, ever would exiſt.*

In every caſe where it is ſcandalous to give money, and in all caſes where it is ſhameful to receive, the Lacedemonians did both always. Pauſanias does not ſcruple to acknowledge that they were the firſt Greeks who rendered victory venal. It was thus they finiſhed the Meſſenian war, and in the ſame manner they terminated the Pelponneſian war.

* Mr. Heyne obſerves, in his commentaries on the Epochs of Caſtor, that the origin of coins amongſt the Greeks went no higher than forty years before the olympiads, or near a century after the death of Lycurgus.

The

The great advantages which they then reaped, says Cornelius Nepos, ought not to be attributed to the courage of their soldiers, nor to the open force of their arms, but to means invisible to the eyes of an historian;† that signifies, in other terms, that the Spartan Lysander, the most impudent corrupter that had ever appeared in Greece, found means to corrupt the Athenian admirals with money, who sold their fleet to him at Egos-Patamos, by a perfidy as execrable, as that of the Arcadian Aristocrates, who sold the conquest of Messenia.

The five great annual magistrates, which at Lacedemon they called Ephori, are, says Aristotle, men of the most venal souls, and destitute of all sense of honour.‡ Notwithstanding all the transgressions and crimes that avarice made them commit are not known to posterity, there are many mysteries buried between the Eurotas and Mount Taygetus: but a mystery that it was not possible to hide, is that which Alexander uncovered to the face of the universe, in his manifesto against

† Life of Lysander.

‡ By the epithet *onioi*, he describes the ephori, which signifies in Greek the same as venal.

the

the Emperor Darius: "*You have ſent into Greece*, ſays he to him, *emiſſaries loaded with gold and ſilver, in order to raiſe up enemies every where to the Macedonian court; but not a ſtate in Greece would accept your money, the Lacedemonians alone excepted.*"

The politicians of antiquity had reaſon to inſiſt, that never any court of Aſia conducted itſelf upon ſuch abſurd and contradictory principles as the Perſian court. It abſolutely loſt all the ſums given to the Lacedemonians, who never made any return but ingratitude. It is poſſitively known, that they received from the hands of the Perſians, more than 5000 talents, that is to ſay, more than 22 millions of livres Tournois, during the Peloponneſian war ;§ and in ſpite of this ſuperb ſubſidy, they turned their arms againſt Perſia as ſoon as they had conquered the Athenians, who yielded leſs to the impulſe of open force, than to the effect of different operations on their finance. For Lyſander, who at that time diſpoſed as he pleaſed of the riches of young Cyrus, bethought him of doubling the pay of the ſeamen and ma-

§ Arrien, d'Alexandre, p. 122. Edit. Blanchard.

rines ;

rines; ſo that Athens was obliged to raiſe the appointments of their crews to the ſame ſtandard, in order to keep them in the ſervice; which completely emptied their treaſury, becauſe the war coſt then as much again as formerly, and the military pay, which had been fixed at three oboles, was raiſed to a drachma, or fifteen French ſous a day. If at this time there exiſted any prince in Europe rich enough to promiſe the ſoldiers double the pay they received elſewhere, one of two things muſt neceſſarily happen; either the greater part of the armies would deſert, or the greater part of the ſtates be ruined by the greatneſs of the pay: but that which no perſon is now capable of trying, the Lacedemonians executed with ſucceſs, more than 2000 years ago.

As national avarice is ſubject to the ſame ſymptoms, and follows the ſame progreſs as individual avarice, which increaſes with age; ſo Sparta became by time more covetous, more deaf to glory, and more blind to the nature of the means; and during the Holy War ſhe was manifeſtly an accomplice with

* Iſocrate, Oraiſon, p. 295.

the ſacrilegious who then pillaged the temple of Apollo, and had a great part of the ſilver plundered from the treaſury at Delphos.* This infamy, accompanied by many others equally crying, at length brought on the degradation of Sparta; which was declared incapable of ſending deputies to the aſſembly of the ſtates general, and its name was for ever ſtruck off from the liſt of the nations aſſociated for the forming the Amphytrionic confederation.

The Greeks generally deſcribed the Lacedemonians by the term of *Aiſchrocerdeis*, that is to ſay, men greedy of ſordid gain; who obſerved amongſt themſelves as little reſpect in the diſcuſſions of intereſt, as they obſerved it in regard to foreign nations. The diſorder, ſays Ariſtotle, which now reigns in the adminiſtration of their finances, is derived from the ſubtleties they contrived, to avoid placing in the public treaſury the ſums that were due.† As the power of impriſonment was lodged in the five ephori only, one may eaſily conceive, that theſe magiſtrates, whoſe

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. 16. c. 23.

† Politiques, lib. 2. et Enenkel commentaire ſur Thucydide, p. 492.

venality

venality was notorious, were ever ready to be corrupted by the great proprietors, who put their poſſeſſions out of the reach of the public taxes; the load of which cruſhed the lower orders, who, in the end, were reduced to complete beggary. And Plutarch affirms, that, under the laſt Agis, there were no more than one hundred Lacedemonian citizens who had landed eſtates; the others poſſeſſed abſolutely nothing they could call their own, and had, over and above their evident miſery, enormous debts.*

It is eaſy to recognize, in this connection of political abuſes, the diſorder which was ſo evident in the middle of Europe during the feudal ſyſtem; when the great vaſſals would neither do the military ſervice, nor pay the impoſts eſtabliſhed to ſupply it, under pretext, that the eſtates of the nobleſſe were exempt: but by the rigorous law of Charlemagne againſt them, the ſovereign authority at that time, was far from acknowledging ſuch exemption, in any province of the empire of the Franks; and, what is yet more ſurprizing in this reſpect, is, that the wiſeſt and moſt uſeful law made in thoſe dark ages,

* Life of Agis and Cleomenes.

is

is preciſely that which was the moſt eluded in more enlightened times.*

When they divided the Laconian lands amongſt the conquerors who came from the Doride, they obliged the land owners to ſerve with a certain number of Serfs or Helotes; but when, in the courſe of time, the women on one ſide, and the great proprietors on the other, had re-united, into one and the ſame maſs, a hundred different portions, the ſtate was at once deprived of military ſervice and of taxes; in ſuch a manner, that all the ſubſidies fell upon the Laconian tributaries, whoſe condition became ſo deplorable, that they never ceaſed to make great efforts to ſhake off the Lacedemonian yoke: and this diſſolution of the political body is an event, that we ſhall ſoon ſee brought about under the reign of Nabis.

Many authors have ſpoken of what they call the law of the Ephor Epitades; the letter of which they criticiſed without ever underſtanding the ſpirit. We have already obſerved, that the eſtates occupied by the Spartans, were, in their origin, like our fiefs; that is to ſay, they were indiviſible and unalienable; they paſſed from the father to the eldeſt ſon

* Georgiſch. Loix de Charlemagne, p. 1134.

exclusively,

which reduced the younger branches to indigence: and as Epitades ſaw all the others threatened with the ſame lot, he thought it right to come to their ſuccour, by permitting parents to diſpoſe of their effects among their children, by deed of gift or will.

By that he diminiſhed the rigour of the right of primogeniture, which being founded on ſo blind a cauſe as chance, in the order of birth, appeared contrary to every notion of natural juſtice. This Ephor of Sparta, conſequently, did nothing contrary to the intereſt of every citizen; and it was not his fault, if afterwards they abuſed his law in ſuch a manner, as to heap on the heads of the women more than half the lands of Laconia. There was in the inſtitutions of this ſtate ſo many vices, that if they ſucceeded in correcting one, a hundred others ſprung even from the improvement.

VI.

Obſervations on the Military Exploits of the Spartans.

BY a general enumeration of all the battles, more

more or leſs deciſive, that were fought by this people, it is found that it loſt as many as it gained in a ſeries of many ages; without reckoning ſome accidental routs, through panic, terror, or by the perfidy of their generals; as when the Arcadian women put the whole Lacedemonian phalanx to flight, at the foot of mount Philactra, and when the women of Argos repulſed their whole army. To preſerve the memory of an event ſo ſingular, they inſtituted a ſolemn feaſt and public games, which they annually celebrated under the name of Teleſillea: for this heroine, who then flew to arms, and perſuaded the other Argian women, her companions, was the immortal Teleſillea. Inſpired at the ſame time by the god of war and by the god poetry, ſhe compoſed ſome beautiful verſes, and carried conſternation into the Spartan camp; who, to waſh out the ſtain of ſo great an affront, ſaid, that their king Cleomenes had ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted by money, that he might not attack the city of Argos with vigour. Theſe ſort of accuſations were ſo frequent at Lacedemon, that the greater part of their kings were ſuſpected, and very often convicted, of being engaged in pecuniary negociations, unknown to the army.

my. They ſurprized Leotychides, one of the Spartan ſovereigns, in the inſtant even, that he received the gold of the Theſſalians to make a precipitate retreat; and it was alſo by ſuch means, that Pericles made them evacuate Attica, fourteen years before the Peloponneſian war, by corrupting king Pliſtionax, ſon of Pauſanias.*

When the Grecian writers, guided by their enthuſiaſm and national vanity, indulged themſelves in the moſt outrageous exaggerations, they never ſuſpected that poſterity would diſcover ſuch an art as hiſtorical criticiſm, which ſhould know how to tear away the veil of fiction, and expoſe the truth. And by this method we can eaſily appreciate the juſt value of the exploit of the three hundred Spartans againſt the Perſians at Themopylæ. At firſt ſight, it is impoſſible that ſuch a battle could be fought, as the hiſtorians have deſcribed; for at that time the ſtrait was exactly ſhut up by a very high and thick wall, which ſtretched from the foot of the mountain to the ſea ſhore. The Lacedemonians placed to the ſouth of this rampart, far from

* Herodotus, lib. 6. Thucydides, lib. 2 and Meurtius, vide art. of Leotychides and Pliſtionax.

being

being able to begin an attack, could not even diſcover the enemy; the height of the fortification abſolutely prevented their view of the north ſide. The poſition that they had taken is contrary to the rules of war then practiſed; for a detached body which paſſed by the paths on mount Oeta, would ſtraiten them to ſuch a point, that it would be impoſſible to retreat; they were on one ſide ſtopt by the wall of Thermopylæ, and on the other by the enemy. Titus Livius obſerves, therefore, very judiciouſly, that their death was more memorable than their battle;* in effect, all the exploit is reduced to the maſſacre of ſome men, loſt in a manner, uſeleſs to the ſtate, and to the reſt of Greece.

Nevertheleſs, this fault we have noticed, was again committed in the ſame place by king Antiochus, whom the Romans defeated in the moſt terrible manner. This prince had equally incloſed the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, by an impregnable wall, without thinking

† Morte magis, quam pugna memorabili. Herodotus ſays, that the wall of Thermopylæ was conſtructed to prevent the incurſions of the Theſſalian cavalry; and that new works were added on the approach of the Perſians.

of

of the other defiles by which Cato paſſed, following the ſame route which the Perſians had, to exterminate Leonidas. It was without doubt a great imprudence on the part of the Lacedemonians as well as in Antiochus, to be engaged in a place, ſhut up by the nature of the ground, without having ſufficiently fortified the other paſſages by which they could fall upon their flank and rear, as experience has twice manifeſted.

When we combine the lights of geography with thoſe of hiſtory, to elucidate the circumſtances of an event like this, it then departs from the claſs of the marvellous, where the Greeks had placed it, to enter again into the order of things natural and common.

Plato, who had had the misfortune to be a priſoner of the Mediterranean pirates, who ſold him like a beaſt of burden to the beſt bidder, entertained a great dread of the ſea during life. He ſpeaks of naval victories with ſovereign contempt; and places the battle of Salamine much below that of Platea. Nevertheleſs, he affirms that the Lacedmonians were ſo much embarraſſed and put to flight, that if the Athenian troops had not

maintained the fight, they never would have rallied to return to the charge, nor did they return till the greateſt danger was over; ſo that they were generally enough accuſed of being of the character of ſome individuals that the Greeks called *Thraſydiles*. This term, compoſed of two oppoſite ſignifications, was contrived by the grammarians to deſcribe thoſe who are very timid in manifeſt danger, and very brave in ambuſcade, or ſtratagem. Ariſtotle obſerves in his ethics, that the portrait of Ulyſſes, ſuch as the author of the Odyſſey has drawn it, is the true model of the Thraſydiles; but the greateſt of all were at Lacedmon, where the generals who had conquered the enemy by open force, could ſacrifice, after the victory, a cock only; and thoſe who had triumphed by fraud or trick of war, ſacrificed a bull.*

The poet Tyrtæus, who well knew the genius of the Spartans, took all imaginable pains to inſpire them with what is called true courage, and not that timid audacity of Ulyſſes, and men who reſemble him. But on the other hand, the leſſons of Tyrtætus dege-

* Plato in the Dialogue concerning Courage, and Plutarch in his Laconic Inſtitutions.

nerated

nerated into precepts more proper for wild beaſts than to form heroes: he ſpeaks only of grinding the teeth, effectual thruſts of the lance, a deluge of blood, and a thouſand deaths, rather than retreat one pace. We tremble in reading ſuch bloody poems, which were abſolutely uſeleſs amongſt a people like the Athenians, whoſe courage far from wanting inflammation, was difficultly reſtrained: and Pericles ſaid of them that, they wanted only a bridle.

As the Lacedemonians conſtantly made war in a mountainous country filled with ravines, they had acquired great experience in the art of encampments, marches, and dreſſing ambuſcades; but they were too ignorant in the ſciences and mathematics to be able to invent, or perfect any machines proper for the attack of places; and their beſt officers did not conduct the operations of any ſiege according to the rules. It was prohibited by a poſitive law, they ſaid, ever to march up to an aſſault; but the truth is, that they never knew how to make a breach.

* Look above all at the poems of Tyrtæus cited by the orator Lycurgus, and Stobæus.

They

They blockaded for two years the little town of Platea, on the confines of Attica; they blockaded the Meſſenians for eleven years on Mount Ira, and afterwards, for ten years more, on mount Ithome. Theſe facts, which cannot be called in queſtion, may help much to diminiſh the abſurdities, we believe, that we diſcover in the operations and delay in the ſiege of Troy; which was, properly ſpeaking, a blockade, ſuſtained by ſkirmiſhes and duels, rather than by battles. But if at this day we pardon the exceſſive ignorance of the heroes of the Iliad in favour of the remote times in which they lived, it is impoſſible to have the ſame indulgence for the Spartans; who, in neglecting the culture of the arts and ſciences, failed at leaſt in the great end they had in view, that is to ſay, to be a truly military people; for as they underſtood nothing of attack and defence, we may refuſe them this title on many accounts. Accuſtomed from their infancy to the management of ſmall arms, they knew very well the moſt common evolutions and leſſer manœuvres of the phalanx; but the great principles of this very complicated arrangement had eſcaped their ſagacity; and the moſt convincing proof

proof that can poſſibly be cited, is, that they never fought a ranged battle againſt the Macedonians without being totally defeated, by Antipater, by Antigonus, by Pyrrhus, and by Philip the ſon of Demetrius; from whence we may with certainty infer, that the Macedonian phalanx was without compariſon ſuperior to theirs.

Moreover, it cannot be believed that Lacedemonia has always had generals equally intelligent; they are often ſeen to proceed againſt the firſt rules of art, as Cleombrotus did at Leuctra, where he drew up his men twelve deep, though he had been informed that the Thebans were drawn up fifty deep in the centre, from whence an impreſſion muſt neceſſarily reſult, that a diſpoſition, which was only a fourth part as ſtrong, could not reſiſt. To this firſt fault Cleombrotus added another in beginning the battle with his cavalry, which was known to all Greece to be very indifferent, the defeat of which diſcouraged all his infantry.*

We ſhall finiſh this article with ſome obſervations relative to the Laconic *coſtume*, or

* Xenophon, Helleniques, lib. 6.

dreſs,

dreſs, and the Spartan armour which may be diſcovered amongſt the European and Aſiatic Greeks, by the manner in which they are cloathed and cover their heads. They wore their hair at its full length, but divided into two or three treſſes which flowed upon their ſhoulders, whilſt very thick whiſkers hung upon their boſom; ſo that in one reſpect they reſemble the Tartars, in the other the ancient Suevi. Inſtead of the long robe of the Athenians, they covered their jacket with a very ſhort cloak, called *tribow*; it was of red in time of war, but ſo dirty and ragged, that Ariſtotle called it "the cloak of pride:" but ſince the tyrant Nabis introduced a new form of government, and diſſipated the ſhadow of civil liberty, the Lacedemonians began to be diſtinguiſhed by the luxury of their cloaths, which always follows the progreſſion of ſlavery, and then their preſumption changed into baſeneſs.*

King Cleomenes thought that the Laconic phalanx had been always inferior to that of Macedonia by the defect of its armour, which he reformed in all its branches, from the

* Clement. d'Alexandria, Pædag. l. 3. c. 2.

ſword

ſword to the buckler. Formerly the weapon moſt in uſe at Sparta, was the half-pike or javelin, that might be managed with one hand; and it is principally by this emblem that they characterized the capital of Laconia, which was ſurnamed *Dory-ſtephanos*, as much as to ſay, crowned with javelins. However terrible this weapon was, when in the hands of the moſt dexterous, it could not however be appropriated to all the manœuvres of the phalanx: for when this body was ranged to fight in deep and cloſe order, then theſe ſhort pikes became intirely uſeleſs to the center files; whilſt the Macedonians made uſe of lances, or *ſariſſæ*, which were even to ſixteen cubits, or twenty-four Greek feet in length, and which puſhed with ſtrength, became a kind of battering-rams, and overſet every thing that preſented itſelf.*

It was this long ſariſſa that Cleomenes ſubſtituted for the ancient weapon of the Lacedemonian troops; but experience demonſtrated how very dangerous it is, ſuddenly to change the tactics of a nation, to make it adopt thoſe of another: this exacts more

* Elien, Tactiques, c. 14. Polyen, Stratag. lib. 2. Article Cleomenes.

combi-

combinations and expedients, than that raſh pretended reformer was ſuſceptible of.

The Spartans, accuſtomed from time immemorial to ſhort weapons, could not acquire the art of managing the ſariſſa, which the ſoldier ought to hold with both hands, and oftentimes aſk aſſiſtance from the file immediately behind him. In ſhort, at the battle of Selaſia, where Cleomenes tried this new method, he was intirely defeated: the maſſacre was ſo terrible, the diſorder ſo complete, and the route ſo general, that they could not rally a body of infantry or cavalry; every thing was overſet; all was loſt: floods of blood ran from the heights of Selaſia, even to the beds of Eurotas and of the Oenon. Thus finiſhed this people, who had never known any other trade than that of war, and were buried in the horrible gulph they had themſelves prepared.

VII.

Of the Empire of the Sea.

IN ſpeaking of the maritime commerce of the Greeks in general, we have had occaſion to

to obſerve, that all the people of this part of the world, who were deſirous to arrogate to themſelves the empire of the ſea, were ſucceſſively drawn into ſuch great and multiplied diſaſters, that they never could get the better of them; but no nation in this perilous career, had ſo terrible a cruſh as the Spartans. They appear in the rank of thoſe who pretend to exerciſe an abſolute deſpotiſm over the whole ſurface of the Mediterranean. It was Alcibiades, who, by an inſidious policy, conducted them to their ruin, under pretence of making their fortunes. When he was at Sparta, he adviſed the kings, the ephori, and all the people in general, to keep conſtantly increaſing their navy, in order to be in a ſtate to make all ſtrike their colours at the ſight of theirs, and in fine, to become the true *Thalaſſocratores*, or governors excluſively, of all the Grecian ſeas.*

Alcibiades could not give counſel to ſuch men, which was really more deſtructive; for the Spartans were very ſufficiently hated before,

* Iſocrates, Harangue to Philip of Macedon, p. 180. Before the arrival of Alcibiades the Spartans had a marine force, but they augmented it daily after that.

becauſe of their deſires to reign on the continent; but they deteſted them much more when they ſhew their inclinations to play the tyrants at ſea. Beſides, by their application to ſhip-building and rowing, they neglected the care of their cavalry, which Xenophon confeſſes was on a bad plan, and moſtly compoſed of horſes bred from old ſtock, worn down by the olympic races, and ſuch like conteſts.

Though there is no relation between the military marine in our days, and ſuch as it was amongſt the Greeks, it, nevertheleſs, at that time, was attended with very conſiderable expences, with regard to the finances of the leſſer republics; and Demoſthenes affirms, that, with the moſt rigorous economy, there was no keeping up ten light veſſels at leſs than forty talents, or 180,000 livres* a year.† From that one may infer, that the equipping great gallies, proper to fight in the line of battle, coſt as much more; ſo that by an ill-judged ſpeculation, the Lacedemonians thought to be able to ſave the expence of the cavalry, that it might go to the navy.

* 72,000l ſterling.

† Demoſthenes, Philipic 1. p. 47.

Iſocrates

Iſocrates pretends that the deciſive battle they loſt at Leuctra by land, was a neceſſary conſequence of that they loſt at ſea, upon the coaſt of Gnidus; where the Athenian Conon totally deſtroyed their fleet, and all their naval forces. Indeed there is no doubting but theſe two events have a natural connection; for when the Thebans learnt that Sparta had loſt the empire of the ſea, they dared to advance their hopes, and their courage was increaſed. When a ſtate has received a great check, it is always very probable that it will receive another; becauſe the firſt weakneſs brings on another. It is always in the nature of fright to go on augmenting, and the victory of Conon had put the Spartan republic into a ſingular conſternation.

We pardon the Athenians directing all their genius and all their force to have a navy, becauſe they inhabited a ſterile country, which could not maintain itſelf without a maritime commerce and the importation of foreign corn, which made navigation abſolutely neceſſary; and we muſt look at all Plato ſays to diſprove it, as illuſions. But theſe conſiderations, which really exiſted with reſpect to Athens, could never apply to Sparta, at leaſt

leaſt as long as it was in a ſtate to preſerve the important conqueſt of Meſſenia, whoſe lands were ſufficient to feed the nation, without any ſupply of foreign grain.

Some authors have pretended that Lycurgus had poſitively prohibited the Spartans from ſhip-building, or keeping up a body of ſeamen;* but it is not likely that any perſon ever thought of making ſuch laws in a country like Laconia, which had at leaſt fifty maritime cities, which would have become frightful deſarts if they had been deprived of fiſhing, and commerce with Aſia, Africa, and Sicily.

The Greeks had ſuch a paſſion for traffic, voyages, and expeditions, that even in the moſt remote times, they were ſeen occupied as the iſlanders of the ſouth ſea in our days; conſtructing canoes, and hollowing trees, to paſs continually from the iſlands of the Archipelago to the continent, as merchants, pirates or adventurers. As ſoon as they knew how to adapt a ſmall ſail to a little maſt, they

* Cragius, de Repub. Laced. lib. 3. c. 4.

were

were heard to talk of the empire of the ſea. The Cretans, ſay they, were the firſt who had dominion at ſea, and they loſt it ſo completely, that they could not protect their own coaſts, which they were obliged to abandon, to unite the utmoſt force that remained to ſave the beſt ſituated, which were on the point of becoming the prey of the enemy. We have already obſerved, that there is no people who have more enemies than thoſe who wiſh to reign in an excluſive manner over the ſea.*

Independently of theſe conſiderations, the pretended law of Lycurgus, relative to the marine, is contradicted by an infinity of facts; for we find the Spartans had always veſſels of war, and in the time of Creſus they landed their troops on the iſland of Samos, where they had been attracted by a pure ſpirit of pillage. It is a report generally ſpread, ſays Herodotus, that the tyrant Polycrates engaged them to make a precipitate retreat, in telling out to them great ſums of money that ſeemed to be of good alloy, but when the Spartan aſſayers examined it, they found it conſiſted of leaden or pewter counters, cover-

* Pauſanias, Laconiques, c. 2.

ed

ed with gold leaf, like the counterfeit medals ſeen in the cabinets of antiquarians. This expedition was worthy of the Spartans, and the trick was worthy of ſuch a tyrant as Polycrates.

CONSIDERATIONS

CONCERNING

THE MANNERS

OF THE

LACEDEMONIANS.

I.

Of the Spartan Women.

AMONGST a military people the women's manners muſt neceſſarily be very corrupted; and it is this cauſe above all, that accelerates the downfall of all thoſe ſocieties founded on force and violence. It is ſufficient to conſider the degraded ſtate of ſoldiers wives at this day, to conceive that nature has attached terrible chaſtiſements to this ſtate, which oppoſes her views, and, much more, all ideas of reaſon. It is a great incon-

inconſiſtency, ſaid one, to the Spartans, "for you to marry to day, and go to morrow to a battle, or a blockade of ten years like that of Troy;" from which all the Greeks who returned, found their families ruined by ſpunging flatterers, or plunged in the greateſt diſorder by the incontinence of their wives, who under pretext of having loſt their huſbands at Troy, re-married every day.

What is yet much more ſurprizing is, that, amongſt a military people, the women ſhould be more timid and cowardly than among pacific nations. When we read what the Greeks have written concerning the Spartan virgins, who according to them fought naked amongſt the men in the Gymnaſtic ſchools, and on the banks of the Eurotas, one is naturally tempted to conclude, that by ſuch rough exerciſes, they acquired a great firmneſs of ſoul, and a courage almoſt heroic; but the truth is that never, amongſt any people in the world, were ſeen women more timid and puſillanimous than at Sparta. They could not, ſays Xenophon, ſupport the ſight of the ſmoke which roſe above ſome houſes in the country, to which the fore-runners of the army of Epaminondas had ſet fire after the battle of Leuctra;

Leuctra: but when Epaminondas himſelf approached, with the reſt of the forces, then the women were ſtruck with ſuch fright and deadly terror, that their cries threw the whole city into a confuſion without example; the ſoldiers could no more hear the voice of their officers, and it was abſolutely impoſſible to make a free paſſage in the ſtreets and public places, through the croud of people wandering in fear and conſternation, without knowing from whence they came or whither they were going. In ſhort, on that day, ſays Ariſtotle, the Spartan women put the city in the greateſt danger, and it barely eſcaped falling into the hands of the enemy.*

It is very uſeleſs then that they ſhould have exerciſed themſelves in boxing, as is pretended, if the ſhadow even of courage deſerted them in the inſtant when it was neceſſary to ſhow ſome reſignation to ſuch urgent fate; as the women of Carthage and of ſo many other cities have done, when preſſed by the ememy and on the point of being taken by aſſault or conſumed by the flames.

* Xenophon Helleniques, lib. 4. Ariſtot. Politi. lib. 2. Plut. Life of Ageſilans.

Philarchus and Hieronymus of Cardia, both of very little credit among the ancients, on account of their falſehood and their malice againſt the memory of Pyrrhus, have endeavoured to tarniſh the name of this prince; in maintaining that he was repulſed by the Spartan virgins when he came before the capital of Laconia: but the truth is, that, in the time of Philip, this city was fortified with ramparts, towers, and ditches, that bade defiance to a *coupe de main*, and which it would have been imprudent to attempt.

Further, of all the writers who have ſpoken of the nakedneſs of the Spartan virgins in the gymnaſtic exerciſes, no one had been a witneſs of it; and this fact appears ſo little credible, that it is neceſſary to explain it in ſome way or other.

At Athens they ſaid a man was naked when he threw off his cloak, though he had then his jacket on. This way of ſpeaking was very generally uſed amongſt the Greeks, and probably they ſaid at Sparta, that a woman appeared naked when ſhe had only her robe on, without wearing the veil, or *peplos*, which made ſo eſſential a part of the dreſs of the ſex

of

of Greece; where the ladies of any conſideration were always covered when they appeared abroad, whether at Argos, Athens, or Thebes; whilſt the Spartan virgins undertook races, games, and dances, along the Eurotas, without being veiled, during the exceſſive heats they experienced at the foot of Mount Taygetus; ſo that then a part of their breaſt, as well as their arms and knees, remained uncovered. But there is a great diſtance in this from abſolute nudity; ſuch as Propertius has fancied in his elegy, and Plutarch in his romance, which they call the life of Lycurgus.

In a country ſo uneven as Laconia, where at every inſtant it was neceſſary to aſcend and deſcend among thick woods or ſharp rocks, long training garments could not but be very inconvenient: and it is not ſurprizing, that women who partook of hunting, had, amidſt a military people, adopted cloaths very immodeſt in the eyes of the other Greek nations, accuſtomed to the flowing drapery of the peplos.

It is impoſſible to form a more exact idea of the dreſs of the Spartan virgins, than by examining ſome antique ſtatues of Atalanta and Diana,

Diana, where it is eaſy to obſerve, that this garment, appropriated to the cuſtoms of a mountainous diſtrict, was in no wiſe flattering to the ſhape; for the folds of the tunick, which fell on the haunches, made thoſe parts appear enormous ;* and this is the reaſon why the women of the iſland of Melos, whom we know are dreſſed after this ſort, ſhock the eyes of ſtrangers when they firſt ſee them. Nevertheleſs, there is no applying the epithet of *phenomerides* to the Melians, as they did to the Spartans, becauſe they had the upper part of the knee uncovered.

It is very probable that in Laconia there formerly exiſted a great great difference between the women of the Achaian race, who inhabited the cities, and the women of the Doric race, who ran about the country, who hunted the game with bows and arrows of the ſame ſize as the Cretan ; for in this country, ſtretched out beyond the 37th degree of latitude, the climate has a ſenſible influence on the complexion of the inhabitants, as is ſeen at this day, by the example of the Mainotes, whom they call *Cacovougnis*, or villains

* Philoſtrates, Icon. p. 868; and Callimacus, Hymn to Diana, v. 16, and others.

of

of the mountains; expoſed to the impreſſions of the air upon the elevated rocks of Cape Tenarus, they appear very ſwarthy with reſpect to the Turkiſh families, who dwell in the neighbourhood of Miſitra, in ſhady habitations.

In ancient times the Greeks recriminated upon each other, that they had never been able to reduce the inſtitutions relative to the ſex, into exact order and diſcipline. This was the ſtumbling block of all their legiſlators; and all were here wrecked, more or leſs ſignally: notwithſtanding, the people, ſays Ariſtotle, who know not how to govern their women, from that moment loſe preciſely the half of their happineſs.* But according to him, no nation in the then known world, had, in this reſpect, cuſtoms more vicious than the Lacedemonians; to whom a diſaſter happened, which but too well proves that amongſt them, the loſs of manners was of very ancient date.

From the time of the firſt Meſſenian war, the greater part of the Spartan virgins arrived at the ſtate of maternity without marriage or huſbands. And in the midſt of the ſtate, there appeared a whole people, whoſe fathers were unknown;

* Rhetoric, b. 1. c. 5. Polit. b. 2. c. 7.

unknown; and it was thoſe infants of the earth, that they afterwards named *Parthenies*; a term by which the Greek particularly deſcribed thoſe born of one in a virgin ſtate. Strabo and Juſtin indeed, accuſe the Spartans of being accomplices in this depravity; and it was, ſay they, with that deſign, that they then ſent ſome of the moſt vigorous of the army, to debauch the Spartan young women: but the recital of theſe writers contain a manifeſt contradiction, and it is certainly not true, that they had recourſe to means ſo exceſſive, to increaſe the population in time of war; ſince the Parthenies, whom no one would acknowledge as their children, nor the ſtate ever acknowledge as citizens, were obliged to expatriate, and go to found a colony at Tarentum, towards the year 707 before our era.*

The Tarentines, who were the iſſue of this illegitimate race, fell ſince into as great a diſſoluteneſs as that of Sparta; that is to ſay, that they governed their families with the ſame negligence as the Spartans governed their wives. Cornelius Nepos pretends, that

* Collection des Diſſertations Acedemiques de Mr. Heyne, tom. 2. p. 217.

among

among them, the widows of the beſt faſhion dared to mount the ſtage for hire, and there repreſent ſuch indelicate farces, and in the ſame attitudes as the Spartan virgins formed their dancing choruſſes, under the planes of Amycles. In any other reſpect there was no ſhadow of taſte at Sparta, as to theatrical repreſentations; and Plutarch affirms, that there never was one regular tragedy or comedy performed there. The diverſions of this kind were confined to mimicks or opera buffoons, where they imitated the manner and language of the mountebanks, ſharpers, robbers of fruit, and all that can be imagined to belong to the low and vulgar people.*

It is poſſible that the Lacedemonian women, as little ſcrupulous as the men touching the means of acquiring, undertook thoſe parts of the drama, the acting of which required no ſtudy; for Athenæus affirms, that they conſiſted of trivial dialogue, without conſequence or connection, like the Italian farces; and they properly called this mimick claſs of actors, which is the laſt of claſſes, *Diceliſtes*: but a people ſo little inſtructed, and ſo coarſe

* Meurſius. Miſcel. Laconica, lib. 3. c. 6.

as

as the Lacedemonians, was not diſpoſed to admit a theatre more chaſte, ingenious, or regular.

Some modern criticks, who have not been able to combine their ideas with the aſſertions of Cornelius Nepos, pretend, that his text has been altered, that it does not concern any part of the comic ſcene, but particular repaſts given by the citizens of ſmall note, who, in order to give a luſtre to their feaſts, engaged the matrons and the moſt illuſtrious widow ladies to come for money, to honour the meetings by their preſence :* but even if this ſingular opinion was exactly proved, it would follow yet, that a cuſtom ſo ſordid ſhocks all notions of the hoſpitality and freedom which is ſeen every where elſe on ſuch occaſions, by reducing all the gueſts to the ſame level ; and it is by the remains of barbariſm, that many European people yet preſerve a Gothic ceremony in the midſt of their repaſts.

* Theſe critics read the text of Cornelius Nepos in this manner : Nulla Lacedæmoni tam nobilis vidua eſt, quæ non ad cænam eat mercede conducta. They have diſcovered another leſſon in an ancient manuſcript, which ſeems of no great authority.

Ariſtotle

Ariſtotle, who was much leſs enthuſiaſtic than any other Greek, and who knew the eſſential vices of the Spartans better than any other politician, ſays, that the military expeditions drew after them incredible diſorders, during the abſence of the army, in the interior parts of the families committed to the diſcretion of the women. But this evil, as old as the ſtate, became yet much more deadly when Sparta took upon her the empire of the ſea, and to undertake wars on the continents of Aſia and Africa; which prevented the citizens to reviſit their fireſides during a lapſe of ſome years: afterwards they returned like the heroes of the Iliad, whoſe magnificent trophies never conſoled them for the ruin of their domeſtic concerns.

As the queens of Sparta knew how to erect a thouſand altars of Venus in the city of Mars, without the knowledge of the ephori, who watched them ſtrictly; it is eaſy to judge, what importance the women of the lower orders attached to that connection, they ſo improperly called, the conjugal union.

One may reduce to two general cauſes, all

the particular cauſes of the exceſſive diſſoluteneſs of the Spartan women.

In the firſt place, they received no education that was proper for the ſingle or married ſtate; ſo that the mothers could not teach their poſterity manners and regards, which they had never known themſelves.

All the paſſions triumphed over their minds without control; which were neither tinctured with that decorum which modeſty inſpires, nor by the moderation which prudence ſuggeſts: ſo they were univerſally deſcribed in Greece by the epithet of *Andromanes*, becauſe that love, which is of itſelf a terrible paſſion, degenerated, in their burning breaſts, into a madneſs; that is to ſay, into the laſt term of human weakneſſes.

The Lacedemonians, who were without diſpute the moſt ignorant in natural cauſes and effects, ſometimes employed mountebanks, or foreign empirics, either by remedies or by expiatory ſacrifices, to calm the tranſports of their own wives; and had the ſimplicity to believe that the impoſtor Bacis

ſucceeded

ſucceeded once at leaſt in a cure, in all reſpects ſo difficult.*

The Greek women in general were expoſed, by the cauſes already indicated,† to perturbations aſtoniſhing to the human mind. I dare own in the face of the world, ſays Galen, that I conceived a mortal hatred for my own mother; for ſhe was, adds he, ſo violent and terrible, that, in the height of her fury, ſhe would bite her ſlaves like a wild beaſt, till the blood ſtreamed from her mouth: notwithſtanding, Galen's mother belonged to a Grecian family of diſtinction, and had at leaſt an education, whilſt the Lacedemonians received none; for one cannot give ſuch a name to ſuch a reprobate exerciſe as wreſtling, nor to the barbarous one of hunting, which even hardens the heart of man. This employment which is abſolutely proper for butchers, to whom it is indifferent to cut the throats of calves, or deer in the foreſt of Enoras at the foot of Mount Taygetus, which, during all the time of the Bacchanalians, re-echoed with the

* Suidas, word Bakis.

† Former part of the book.

ſhouts

ſhouts and cries of the virgins and Menades.

Plutarch pretends, that the women of this part of the Peloponneſus, were ſometimes the victims of the illegitimate flame which Sappho felt. She has herſelf deſcribed the ſymtoms of this terrible evil in her poems, that may be looked at, as the greateſt anxiety that could diſturb the female breaſt, amongſt the Grecian women. It is poſſible that an imperfect organization might have been the firſt cauſe of a paſſion like this; but we cannot doubt but that the immoderate uſe of the wines of Laconia, ſtronger yet than thoſe of Leſbos, contributed to irritate it in individuals who were ſenſible of a natural tendency. What is aſtoniſhing, is, that this fallacious paſſion did not heal the real one, of love; and Sappho was ſo much hurried away by theſe two ſlaveries at the ſame time, that ſhe had recourſe to a leap from the rock in the iſland of Leucas; but it is not poſſitively known if ſhe ſo finiſhed her days, or if ſhe was one of thoſe who applied feathers and wings to their bodies, that they might ſuſtain themſelves after their fall upon the ſea, where, as Strabo mentions, they were afterwards ſuccoured

ſuccoured by the prieſts of Apollo, who pretended that this immerſion calmed their erotic furies, or mad-fits: and they treated the lovers as phyſicians treat thoſe in the hydrophobia; for to ſuch great evils, ſaid they, muſt be applied extraordinary remedies.

The ſecond cauſe of the extreme diſorder that was ſeen to reign among the Spartan women, aroſe from the luxury and immenſe riches that were there accumulated, in acquiring all the landed eſtates formerly poſſeſſed by the male branches, who had been mowed down in the diſcord of war. When a general heireſs, or *epiclere*, married, ſhe preſerved, even during the term of this union, the ſovereign right of diſpoſing of her fortune.*

Such inſtitutions rendered the Spartans the ſlaves of their own wives; who had not only a great authority in the interior of their families, but yet greater influence in the ſtate deliberations: notwithſtanding, they were far from ever preventing a war, becauſe war enriched them. But when king Agis was deſirous of reforming the government, they

* Ubbo Emmius, de la republique de Lacedemone. p. 266.

let

let him underſtand, that he had not the power to effect ſuch a revolution; and what they ſaid was exactly true: ſince a ſtate ſo vicious in its principles, and attacked at the ſame time by ſo many political complaints, could not but degenerate into deſpotiſm; and that ſo happened under the reign of Cleomenes, an atrocious tyrant, as all thoſe were who ſucceeded him.

Although the exceſſive depopulation of Sparta had been in a great meaſure brought about by the ſpirit of the government, and by the national pride, which put aſide all ſtrangers who might have aſpired to the rights of a citizen; there is, nevertheleſs, no doubt but the licentiouſneſs, and, above all, the luxury of the women, contributed to diminiſh the number of births, and marriages: for, in proportion as luxury augments, the number of thoſe who live in celibacy increaſes; and ſuch a citizen, who might wiſh to be the father of a family, might yet be unwilling to ruin himſelf, for the ſole pleaſure of ſeeing his wife dreſſed in ſilk, and an egret of diamonds in her cap. You have, ſaid a philoſopher to Pentheſillea of Corinth, a rich

a rich and ſuperbly embroidered robe, but it will prevent your having a huſband.

Ariſtotle affirms, in his book of Politics, every line of which contains a great leſſon, or a great truth, that the portions ought to be very moderate in republican governments; and, that at Sparta, where a depopulation was foreſeen that muſt annihilate the ſtate, they ought to have lowered them very much; notwithſtanding, it is preciſely there, adds he, that the portions are exceſſive, and throw a thouſand obſtacles in the way of increaſing mankind. But it is eaſy to diſcover that all this belonged to the national avarice, for it is not the women but the men who determine the amount of the dowry, when they wiſh to determine it by juſt laws.

II.

Of the Military Education of the Lacedemonians.

AS it is an error to manure land over much, ſo it was a great error at Sparta to over exerciſe the troops; for exceſſive exer-

ciſe

ciſe blunts the natural courage of man. By being too much ſtruck every day with the image of death and deſtruction, they began to fear the ſword, and finiſhed by deteſting it. From thence the Spartans became famous Thraſydiles, upon whom Tyrtæus in vain tried the power of his poetry.

In the midſt of peace the Athenians were always crowned with violets, and dreſſed in purple. They aſſiſted either at ſhows or fairs; or conducted a chorus-dance from Phalerea to Marathon, without any remembrance of old armour, which they preſerved in their houſes as the moſt uſeleſs of inſtruments. But when the occaſion called upon theſe men, in a ſerious manner, to make war, they looked out their helmets and ſwords, and gave battle the next day according to all the rules of tactics, which they never learnt but once in their lives, and, nevertheleſs, they knew them in the higheſt degree; ſo that they are rarely ſeen to err againſt the firſt principles. And Diodorus Siculus ſays, that their heavy cavalry was the beſt in Greece; whilſt that of the Lacedemonians was the worſt, by being too much exerciſed. In effect, nothing can be more abſurd, than to exerciſe

exercise the horses so much in time of peace as to make them good for nothing in war.

It must not be imagined that there were many combinations nor much genius in the exercises of Spartan youth, for they had so servilely copied the Cretans, that it was impossible to remark the smallest distinction; not only the same things were seen, but even the same words were heard. In Sparta as at Crete they gave the name of *Agélé* to a troop of children which they made to encounter another of the same age and strength, till one or other were driven headlong into the Eurotas, or the waters of Oenon; from whence it happened, that some individuals, who were born without any defect in their shape, and whose constitutions the magistrate had approved, were maimed during the course of their youth by the effects of a fall, as happened to Agesilas.

Amongst all the people ever so little civilized, they have always endeavoured to prevent the natural and innate inclination to pugnacity in male children; on the contrary they encouraged it at Sparta: but it is certain that on this account there was a great revolution in the constitution of many subjects, towards the age of twenty-four years; and

thoſe who had been the boldeſt champions, and the moſt furious during their youth, often finiſhed by becoming the moſt cowardly men. This unhappy diſpoſition, which I have deſcribed by the term of pugnacity for want of another, has its ſource in the heat of the blood, and in the abſolute ignorance of children of every thing reſpecting right and juſtice, in ſuch ſort, that they always have recource to force; it was conſequently a great moral error, on the ſide of the Spartans, to endeavour to increaſe an inclination founded on impulſes, blind and purely animal.

At the age of five years the Lacedemonian children began to learn the pyrrhic or military dance, and from that time they were put under the dicipline of muſicians to inſtruct them in playing on the Laconic flute, from which no citizen was exempt; that is to ſay, he muſt at leaſt know the different airs of the Dorian manner, played in the army, on which the evolutions of the phalanx were always regulated.

At ſeven years of age the children decidedly quitted the paternal manſion, to dwell in the caſernes, or rooms provided for the ſoldiery of the ſtate, who bore the expence of their own

own maintenance; and ſome authors have pretended, that they were brought up in the interior country of Laconia, at a great diſtance from the capital. This ruſtic education had even been carried, according to Juſtin, to ſuch a degree of rigour, that they did not permit the youth thus brought up, to enter the bounds of the city till they had reached the term of manhood, which the laws fixed at thirty years of age.*

It is true that the principal gymnaſium conſecrated to military exerciſes, which they named the *Phoebeon*, was ſituated out of Lacedemon, on the ſide of Therapne, to the eaſt of the Eurotas; but this does not hinder that the aſſertion of Juſtin, like that of many ancient writers reſpecting the Spartans, does not contain a manifeſt miſtake; ſince the children were very often exerciſed in the centre of the city, without which they would not have been, for the greater part, buried under

* Pueros puberes non in forum, ſed in agros deduci præcepit, neque prius in urbem redire, quam viri facti eſſent, ſtatuit.

‡ All the other inſtitutions which Juſtin attributes to Lycurgus, are as fabulous as this.

the

the ruins of a portico which fell upon them at the time of an earthquake. Beſides, at the time of a general review of the army, the young men dined among the ſoldiers in the public halls, and thoſe magiſtrates they called *Bidiens*, that are known to have been charged with the department of the national education, kept their tribunal in the middle of Sparta.

The body of youth that was brought up in common, was compoſed of four different claſſes.

The firſt comprehended the children of free citizens, whatever their fortune, rank, or dignity might be; the preſumptive heirs of the throne excepted, whom they would not expoſe every day to receive blows in boxing or wreſtling, for fear of leſſening the reſpect to the kings, and to thoſe who might become ſo.

In the next place followed the Mothaces, who were raiſed a little only above the freedmen, but having finiſhed the courſe of their education, they might afterwards arrive at any rank either in the navy or army; an example of which is ſeen in the perſon of Lyſander,

ſander, who was born in the order of the Mothaces.

After theſe two claſſes followed the children of ſtrangers, whoſe parents, violently attached to the Laconic inſtitutions, ſent them to Sparta, there to learn the uſe of arms and the worſt of manners. The ſtrangers brought up there, were deſcribed by the term of *Trophimes*; and, according to appearances, they paid the expence of their board and cloathing, which was uniform with all the caſernes or barracks.

Laſtly, the fourth diviſion conſiſted in illegitimate children, which the incontinence of the unmarried or married women brought into the world, whether in time of peace or war. Xenophon calls all theſe pupils, without reſerve, Baſtards of Sparta; but afterwards, in order to ſoften the rigour of the term by the excellence of the thing, he pretends, that in ſpite of this irregularity of birth, the individuals might be compared to the firſt men of the nation.*

* Helleniques.

All

All theſe ſcholars learnt two kinds of military ſongs by heart, of which ſome formed a collection of elegies compoſed by Tyrtæus, and others a collection of anapeſtic poems by Sophron and Spendon, who are known to have made the meaſure of their verſe correſpond with the Spartan martial muſic, who never went to battle, nor attacked the enemy, but to the alternate ſound of Anapeſts and Spondees; from whence the reſult was a march intermixed with ſlow and quick paces. Hepheſtion of Alexandria has preſerved for us the firſt verſe of a like ſort of canticle, that may be thus rendered: "*O ye children of Sparta, perform the motions of Mars;*"* and, as we have indicated, the quantities of the Greek text, in favour of thoſe who are unacquainted with the proſody of that nation, one may form to one's-ſelf an idea as preciſe of

* The Grecian meaſure was,

ᴗ ᴗ— — — ᴗ ᴗ — — — ᴗ ᴗ
AGETO | SPARTAS | ENOPLOI | KOIROI | POTI |

— ᴗ ᴗ— — — ᴗ
TAN | AREOS | KINA | SIN |.

By this we ſee that the Spartan war-ſongs contained three ſpondees, four anapeſts, and a ſupernumerary ſyllable to begin the following verſe. There is no appearance of ceſine; the dialect was always Doric or Laco-Doric.

ſuch

ſuch a melody, as if one heard it played in the midſt of a camp, to the ſound of Laconic flutes and lyres.

As among the ſavages of America the war-ſong, without having any ſenſible influence on the courage of the warriors, augments nevertheleſs the ſpirit of vengeance, which is terrible amongſt barbarians; in like manner the verſes of Sophron, Spendon, and Tyrtæus, excited in the ſoul of the Spartan, a vindictive and atrocious character, which the military ſchoolmaſters endeavoured to irritate further in admitting their pupils to go and cut the throats of the Helotes, by an ambuſcade, and to pillage the farms of the Laconian tributaries, whenever they could introduce themſelves by art or ſurprize.

Thoſe who chooſe to call in queſtion facts of this nature, do not reflect on the unfortunate ſtate in which Europe was plunged during the pillage of the Feudal ſyſtem, when all the gentlemen robbed on the high-ways. The greateſt part of the mountains of Germany are at this time covered with the ruins of caſtles, which, on the confeſſion of German hiſtorians, were the caſtles of robbers, inhabited by the firſt barons of the empire, who

glorified

glorified themſelves in making a brilliant fortune by adopting ſuch a profeſſion. The emperor Rudolph overturned ſixty-ſix fortreſſes of theſe robbers, the Suabian league deſtroyed a hundred and forty more, and in ſpite of that a great number remained.

It is eaſy to judge by ſuch facts as theſe, to what degree the human mind can deſcend, and into what abyſs it can plunge itſelf, when it can condemn to oblivion, the arts, ſciences, laws, and all the civil inſtitutions, which alone raiſe mankind above the wild beaſts: for religion by itſelf, has no ſenſible influence on the virtue of nations, ſince the Lacedemonians were the moſt exceſſively ſuperſtitious of all mortals; and all the knights who robbed and aſſaſſinated the travellers in feudal times, were chriſtians; neither was it by theology, but by a little improvement in the police, which ſet bounds to this frightful depredation.

Plutarch pretends that murder and addreſs in robbery was permitted the Spartan children in order that they might be early trained to the operations of the leſſer war, which conſiſted in pillaging the enemies country without much hazard of loſing their lives:

lives. But it would be very wrong to make ſuch trials, and give ſuch precepts in a country inhabited by one and the ſame nation, well united together; whereas in Laconia there exiſted two different nations, one of which was the oppreſſor, the other the oppreſſed. It was only amongſt the poſſeſſions of the Achaians and the conquered Meſſenians, that the pupils of the military ſchool committed theſe ravages; for they dared not to plunder in the middle of Lacedemonia, which belonged to the Spartans of the Doric race.

This obſervation removes the difficulties which have ſtopped thoſe, who pretended to reach the ſource of the Laconic inſtitutions; they manifeſtly tended to weaken the Helotes on one ſide, and the tributary inhabitants on the other; who at length conceived ſo mortal an hatred for the Spartans, that they ſaid, "with pleaſure they ſhould devour the bowels even, of thoſe pitileſs deſpots". Such were the expreſſions even of the confeſſion that Cinadon made to the Ephori, when they diſcovered the famous conſpiracy that the natives of Laconia had ſet on foot againſt Sparta*.

*Xenop. Hell. Lib. 1. 11. Et l'Hiſt. philoſ. et politiques des loix de Lycurgue.

It ſuffices only to reflect on the plan of this education, where they had combined wreſtling, boxing, running, hunting, muſic, dancing, tactics, murder and robbery, to conceive, that the principal force of theſe inſtitutions, affected not only the bodily faculties, but corrupted the heart, and ſtifled all improvement of the mind. Iſocrates and Plato alſo affirm, that moſt of the Lacedemonians were in this reſpect ſo little inſtructed, they could neither read, ſign their name, nor calculate beyond their fingers, which they looked upon, at Athens, as the moſt complete diſgrace; and the moſt injurious language conſiſted in calling a citizen, *Apaideutos* and *Amanſos*, as much as to ſay, that he had not in his infancy been brought up after the Athenian manner.

King Agis, the laſt of the name, who continually lamented the barbarity and corruption of the Spartans, thought that it was poſſible to reform their manners, by enlightening their minds concerning their duties; and he invited a philoſopher to Sparta, a ſtranger, of the Stoic ſect, called Spherus, in order to inſtruct the youth; and we have now ſome ſlight fragments of a political treatiſe, which this Stoic compoſed at that time.

time. But this education, now too late, was abſolutely given up, as ſoon as Agis had been ſacrificed by thoſe, whom he was deſirous to train to virtue. The Spartans, who would ſuffer no bounds to be ſet to their perverſeneſs, tore this king from his throne, and ſtrangled him in the public priſon, as the moſt infamous of men. Then anarchy went on increaſing, confuſion became inexpreſſible, and the ſtate fell into ruin, with a vaſt cruſh upon thoſe, who preferred ſo many political evils to the gentle remedies of philoſophy.

We could here finiſh this article, if it were not yet neceſſary to obſerve, that the beating their children with rods, at the feet of the ſtatute of Diana Orthia, has been improperly confounded with the exerciſes of the Spartan youth; for theſe things had not ever, the leaſt connection with each other.

This flagellation was a religious ceremony, or rather an execrable fanaticiſm, the origin of which is well known. They formerly ſacrificed human victims at Sparta, as Pauſanias and Porphyrus acknowledge; but when the voice of humanity had made its way to the hearts of the Greeks, they aboliſhed thoſe impious

impious and unnatural ſacrifices: but the Spartans, much attached to their ancient cuſtoms, pretended that the ſtatue of Diana Orthia, was ſo much accuſtomed to receive ſuch offerings, that to refuſe them, would draw down ſome great diſaſter, or prodigious misfortune upon the nation; and inſtead of tearing out the hearts of the children, they flogged them, till the altar and the pavement of the temple were bathed with their blood; and it often happened, that the wounds of theſe victims inflamed to ſuch a degree, that they expired ſome days after they had received them*.

Cicero was certainly very much out, in reckoning ſuch exploits amongſt the examples of conſtancy of the Spartans; ſince this ſacrifice, in whatever point of view it is examined, preſents a ſpectacle of the moſt horrid ſuperſtition; which may be found amongſt other people of the Doric race, ſettled in the Peloponneſus; who equally ſhed the blood of their children, upon the pretended tomb of Pelops; for that was the name of

* Porphyre, de l'Abſtinence. lib. 2. et Pauſanias Lacon. c. 16.

this

this altar of horror worthy of the Tauride†.

Theſe relations are more than ſufficient to demonſtrate the error of thoſe who have maintained, that this barbarous ceremony was practiced in no part of Greece but Lacedemon; where the children of the ſlaves only, the Helotes, underwent this oppreſſion, which their condition expoſed them to; where they reckoned the life of a man as a trifle, and that of a child as nothing§.

III.

Of the Character of the Lacedemonians.

WE are acquainted with two cauſes only which can change a pacific nation into a military people; either the fear of being ſubdued by their neighbours, or the deſire of making conqueſts, in its turn.

The Spartans were in neither of theſe pre-

† They called this ſacrifice, the effuſion of Children's blood.

§ Archeologie Grecque, tome 1. p. 400.

dicaments

dicaments, but rather in both at the ſame time. At firſt they feared to be ſubdued by their own ſlaves; afterwards they armed themſelves more and more to preſerve an acquiſition ſo important as the conqueſt of Meſſenia, to which their political exiſtence was united; and after that they even dared to aſpire to the empire of the ſea, in ſuch ſort, that all their ideas were abſorbed in war, and every thing that had relation to it.

A ſituation ſo violent naturally inſpires men with great melancholy, and the conſtant handling of arms, would make them yet more taciturn. In their military exerciſes alſo, we diſcover the origin of their Laconiſm. All the Greek Tacticians obſerved, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to abridge, as much as poſſible all the terms of command that the ſuperior officers made uſe of to perform the evolutions of the Phalanx, in impoſing profound ſilence on the ſoldiers during the whole time of the manœuvres.

It is not at all ſurprizing that the Spartans, brought up in this manner from their moſt

* Arrien, Tactique, p. 72. et L'emperor Leon, des Exerciſes.

tender

tender infancy, ſhould have contracted the habit of ſpeaking in time of peace, as they talked in the army; and one can ſcarcely conceive how Mr. de la Nauſe could take this kind of military Laconiſm for a mark of the moſt ſublime philoſophy. The proofs he employs to maintain ſuch a paradox, diſcovers a confuſed erudition, deficient in all the knowledge of criticiſm, and conſequently more dangerous than ignorance itſelf.†

Beſides, it is certain that the author of the tract on the Lacedemonian republic, has rediculouſly magnified the grave air and demeanour of the Spartans. Theſe men, ſays he, walk in public with ſuch an aſtoniſhing gravity, that they ſpeak no more than the ſtones; they are as little ſeen to move their eyes as ſtatues of braſs, and for their modeſty they have more than is to be ever found in the moſt inacceſſible apartments of virgins.

It is theſe phraſes and hyperboles that Longinus has condemned, in his treatiſe of the ſublime, as the greateſt exceſs of fuſtian language: but Longinus had had more penetration, if he had made a diſtinction between

† Memoire ſur l'etat de Science a Lacedemone, Acad. des Inſcr: tome 19.

the

the counterfeit pictures by bad painters, and the originals of the great maſters; he would at once have perceived that he injured the genius of Xenophon, by looking upon him as the author of a production, which, by the confeſſion of Demetrius of Magneſia, had been falſely attributed to him by one of thoſe Pſeudonomous, who had prodigiouſly multiplied at Athens; and we have already obſerved, that their pernicious induſtry ſpread thick clouds over literature.

Finally, the taciturnity of the Spartans had, perhaps, never been ſo remarkable, nor ſo ſtriking amongſt the other nations of Europe, as it would naturally appear among the greater part of the Greeks; who reaſoned eternally, ſpoke loud in public, diſputed in the ſtreets, and afterwards ſtopt each other in the middle of a market, or under a portico, to give ſolutions of problems, in the moſt noiſy manner. They often carried about books with them in the folds of their cloaks, to convince their adverſaries by axioms, and deciſive ſentences*.

In the middle of Lacedemon, ſuch like conteſtations were never heard; and the Do-

* Plautius, in the Curcalio, act 2. p. 3.

ric

ric tongue that they ſpoke, was ſo poor in words, and had ſuch coarſeneſs and obſcurity, that it could not be employed in the diſcuſſion of ſcientific and abſtract matters. It was impoſſible for ſome of the inhabitants of Ionia, to underſtand this dialect, ſo degenerated from the mother tongue, without an interpreter, for it ſeemed to belong to a foreign idiom; and it is only by the means of a commentary, that the learned can now explain the jargon of a Lacedemonian woman, that Ariſtophanes has introduced in one of his comedies.

We have already had occaſion to remark, that the great urbanity of the Athenians, was the fruit of their application to the ſtudy of philoſophy, of the exceſſive mildneſs of their civil laws, of the perfection of their theatre, and, in fine, of their continual connections with ſtrangers of all nations, drawn there by the allurements of trade, or a taſte for the fine arts. Of all theſe cauſes, no one could have any influence on the progreſs of civilization at Sparta; where luxury itſelf, far from having any thing like that at Corinth, Argos, and Athens, was transformed into a vulgar oſtentation, and a ſavage pomp, like

that of the Turks, Tartars, and the greater part of the Aſiatics.

The Spartans living together, aſſociated with ſlaves, ſoldiers, and army followers, could neither ſoften their accent, nor enrich their language, nor improve their manners, nor correct their morals, in ſtudying thoſe of ſtrangers, whom they kept off with an inſulting contempt, which carried all the marks of the moſt violent hatred.

This cuſtomary intolerance, which in greek was properly enough called *Xenelaſie*, and which made Sparta ſo diſguſtful, ſprung firſt from great national pride; and afterwards from the conſtitution itſelf, of a military government. As they were always meditating enterprizes, the ſucceſs of which depended much on ſecrecy, they there looked on ſtrangers as dangerous ſpies; and hid with all imaginable care, whatever related to the real force of their armies, and the inſtructions given to the commanders, that the keeneſt eye could never pierce the veil of ſuch a myſtery. Thucydides alſo affirms, that the hiſtorians, annaliſts and Grecian chroniclers, could never procure the neceſſary intelligence, to be able to ſpeak with certainty of the

the number of the effective fighting men, who formed the Lacedemonian phalanx, and the body of the auxiliary troops*.

On the other hand, the debauches of the women were carried to such excess, that they dared not allow them any acquaintance with strangers, for they yielded to the slightest temptations; and the example of Alcibiades, which went so far as to mount the royal nuptial bed, prove enough, that it was sufficient to have desires only, to insure enjoyment: nevertheless, these women, whose minds were so weak, knew all political affairs exactly; endeavours were made to obstruct their connections with those, who might be interested in getting to the bottom of state secrets, which we well enough know have been so often betrayed by love.

From whence it happened, that the Lacedemonian women, abandoned to their own inclinations, and to the impulses only of instinct, could not partake of the progress which the knowledge of manners made among the other Grecian people. They enslaved the men by the vices of their heart, without making

* Thucydide. L. 5—et Agius. L. 4. P. 389.

them

them more polite by the charms of their mind. Beſides, the great riches they had acquired, and the cuſtom they were in of mounting the theatre, made them confound the finery which might become the ſcene, with the ornaments appropriated to ſocial life: and it is this overturn of manners and faſhions, which has had great influence in Europe, on the dreſs of the ſex, for near twenty years paſt; in ſuch ſort, that ſome illuſtrious ladies, who are far enough from being courtezans, or ſtage dancers, do, however, dreſs themſelves as thoſe people are dreſſed; which has peculiarly debaſed the moſt reſpectable inſtitutions of ſociety, in changing them into a theatrical paſtime; where they every day put on new maſks, of which ſome are ſo frightful, that they drive away the Graces themſelves.

It is again neceſſary to remark, that the inſtitutions commonly attributed to Lycurgus, did not form a ſeries of original laws, accommodated to the wants and local circumſtances of the Grecian continent; but that they had been copied from thoſe of the iſlanders of Crete, who attacked at that time by a ſwarm of pirates, might well conceive a great

great averſion for all foreign navigators who appeared on their coaſts.*

This ſpirit of the Cretan laws paſſed at a time when no perſon there, was enlightened enough to diſtinguiſh between ſuch political inſtitutions as might ſuit the inhabitants of the main land, and thoſe adapted to the inhabitants of the iſlands of the Archipelago; where the ungratefulneſs of the ſoil, and the ſcarcity of proviſions, often rendered hoſpitality burdenſome, which made the legiſlators not encourage it as a national virtue.

Independently of theſe conſiderations, the Lacedemonians ſaid they, always fear leaſt the ſtrangers ſhould compaſs a riſing of the Laconian ſlaves by ſome ſecret inſtigation. Ariſtotle ſeems to have thought that this apprehenſion amongſt them was the moſt plauſible motive for the Xenelaſie, or intolerance; but if they had there treated thoſe unfortunate people with more kindneſs and humanity, ſuch fears would have vaniſhed; as among the other Greeks, where domeſtic ſlavery was eſtabliſhed on leſs revolting principles and maxims.

* Pauſanias, Laconique.

The

The Spartans of the Doric race never exerciſed any trade, whatever name we may give it, either in the mechanical claſs or in the order of the liberal arts; ſo that among them all, the manufactures were carried on by the Laconian tributaries, and the lands all cultivated by the Helotes and the Meſſenian ſlaves. But as commerce here offered ſo many means of getting rich, the nobility of Sparta, were intereſted in it directly or indirectly by their agents.

As ſoon as the citizens reached the term of life when the law diſpenſed with their military ſervice, they applied themſelves to uſury; and, as Plutarch ſays, from ſoldiers they became bankers.*

They had in general ſo much inclination for traffick, that the moſt rigorous puniſhment inflicted on thoſe ſoldiers who had ſhown themſelves poltrons, conſiſted in forbidding them the entrance of the Lacedemonian market; ſo that during that time they could neither buy nor ſell. It was thus they chaſtiſed the three hundred Spartans, who

* Plutarch, if it is proper for old men to govern Republics.

threw

threw down their arms in the iſland of Sphactria, to ſurrender themſelves priſoners to the Athenians; but they afterwards through fear or compaſſion, re-eſtabliſhed them in all the honours of commerce; though they were the firſt Thraſydiles, or rather the firſt Poltrons, of the Peloponneſus.†

We have ſeen that the greater part of the Greeks introduced ſubtleties into the operations and details of commerce, that brought their credit into great ſuſpicion. They had however written laws at Athens, againſt the tricks of merchants; they had tribunals and orators who unmaſked the culpable, and delivered them up to a public courſe of law; whilſt at Sparta, where they had no written law, the management of commerce muſt become ſubject to a thouſand uncertainties, and arbitrary interpretations.

It was, above all, this want of poſitive juriſprudence, that ſpread a ſpirit of intrigue, and a decided inclination for the moſt inſidious policy. Lyſander ſaid, openly amongſt them, "That children were to be tricked by ſports, and men by oaths."

† Thucydide, lib. 5.

It is this which demonſtrates clearly, that this continual employment of trick, and contempt for all civil contracts, reſulted from a vicious legiſlation, incapable of fixing the obligations of man in ſociety. It was this which made the Cretans, who would have no written laws, equally famous throughout the world, by their duplicity, ſophiſtical logic, and by every thing, in ſhort, which was named Cretan falſehoods. Nevertheleſs, Polybius pretends, that the inhabitants of this iſland, had yet more avidity for gain, and were more ſordidly covetous, than the Lacedemonians themſelves: but it was impoſſible for him to prove it, by an enumeration of facts comparable to thoſe we have noticed in the preceding ſection.

The hundred cities of Crete never contained the half of the gold and ſilver that they had heaped up at Sparta. But the booty was, as we have ſhown, the produce of uninterrupted wars and enterprizes, indiſtinctly againſt all the nations of Greece, where the Spartans were deſirous of reigning abſolute maſters: this was the great end of their policy, and object of their wiſhes. Crete was without doubt far enough from being animated by a like ambition, nor did ſhe ever form projects

ſo

ſo dangerous to the peace of the neighbouring iſlands of the Archipelago, none of which ſhe ever ſubdued : although by her ſituation ſhe was in a ſtate to have become the centre of a large empire, ſtretched over Aſia and Europe ; and no point known of the ancient continent appeared in the eyes of Ariſtotle more proper than that to create a real formidable power.

Beſides, the greateſt reproaches that the Cretans underwent from their contemporaries, cannot be compared to the imputations charged on the Lacedemonians, whom they accuſed to be without altar, faith, or oath ; becauſe they violated treaties of peace and alliance, as ſoon as they found the leaſt intereſt to do it. Never were a people ſeen more ſuperſtitious in appearance, nor more impious in reality. It undertook no war without conſulting ſome oracle, and often ſeveral at the ſame time. They offered conſtantly ſacrifices to the gods, and finiſhed by robbing their temple. It pillaged the ſacred territory of Elis from one end to the other, which the Greeks reſpected as inviolable. It carried off the vaſes of gold and ſilver incloſed in Eleuſis which all the Greeks regarded as yet more

ſacred. It became an accomplice in the ſacriledges of thoſe who plundered the treaſure of Apollo at Delphos. It dared to ſet fire to the conſecrated grove of Juno of Argos, and burn all the votaries who had fled there. It dared, in fine, in the midſt of peace, to ſeize the citadel of Thebes, for the accompliſhment of its treaſons againſt faith, pledged and received.

King Ageſilaus is commonly diſtinguiſhed from the other Spartans, becauſe Xenophon, then engaged in the Spartan party, has made a very faſtidious eulogium of this pretended hero, who in reality was no more than a ſignal robber. All his expeditions into Aſia and Egypt had not, on the confeſſion of his panegyriſt himſelf, any other end, than amaſſing money by pillage and depredation. He brought from Lydia, Phrygia and Egypt, 220 talents, nearly ſix millions of livres, without reckoning the pay and maintenance of his troops, who lived at diſcretion throughout the whole territory of the enemy, or of thoſe they called ſuch.*

* Xenophon, Nepos, and Plutarch, life of Ageſilaus.

This

This inextinguiſhable thirſt of booty was a neceſſary effect of the education of the Spartan youth, ſuch as they received in the military ſchool, where murder and robbery were reduced into a ſyſtem; ſo that the firſt notions of morality were abſolutely ſtifled in the boſoms of the pupils.

After having learnt to deſpiſe all the rights of humanity and all the bonds of civil life, they finiſhed by attaching a great importance to force, or trick, which ſtood in its place, and ſaw nothing in arms, but proper inſtruments to ſatisfy their avarice, which increaſed in proportion to the acquiſition of their ſpoils.

Moreover, this cuſtom of placing, together all the young men of the nation, at the inſtant even that the fire of adoleſcence began to inflame their paſſions, ought naturally to bring on conſequences, very pernicious to their manners in corrupting inſtinct: ſo that the Spartans were the moſt infected of all the Greeks with this unhappy paſſion, which ſhocks the firſt views of nature.*

* Theodoret, de curandes Græcorum affectibus, ſect. 10. p. 630.

To ſay that Lycurgus made particular laws to favour this depravity, is to accuſe him in the ſame manner, as the legiſlators of Crete were accuſed: nevertheleſs, there is reaſon to believe, that the effects have been confounded with the cauſes in all theſe things: for the manner in which the Cretans brought up their children, and that in which the Spartans were educated, ought to produce exactly the ſame inconveniences which the firſt inſtitutors had not foreſeen. At leaſt it is certain, that Lycurgus had never foreſeen, that one day the contempt for all notions of modeſty, ſhould at Sparta be carried to that degree, that men would dare to appear naked on the race-courſe; for we have already obſerved that this nudity did not begin till between the 70th and 80th olympiad, and conſequently many ages after the death of Lycurgus; which demonſtrates evidently, that he was never the author of an infinity of inſtitutions, that hiſtorians, ignorant of chronology, have imputed to him. It is abſurd to ſay, that he exacted from the women that which he did not exact from the men; for in his time it was an action truly infamous in the eyes of the Greeks, to appear without cloaths in public: but ſince, the

Spartans

Spartans put themſelves above all conſider-ations, and trampled all the rights of deco-rum under foot.

Such was in general the character and genius of this nation, the enemy of manners and the arts of peace; and, that independently of ſo many other cauſes, its ignorance alone ought to caſt it headlong into the exceſſes of the laſt cor-ruption. Notwithſtanding, thoſe who have obſerved the crafty manner with which the Spartans often conducted political negociati-ons, and enterprizes the moſt difficult and complicated, believe they were not defective in that kind of natural penetration, which would have made them ſucceed in the ſtudy of the ſciences, if they had applied them-ſelves with the ſame ardour as the Athen-ians: but, in this reſpect, we ought to take notice, that there is a great difference be-tween this light, which gives intelligence to the groſſeſt people concerning their perſonal intereſts, and this blaze of genius, which pierces through the veils of nature. Doctor Robertſon, who has commented, in Engliſh, my reſearches concerning the Americans, pretends, that the ſavage hords, the moſt ſtu-pid, often give marks of an aſtoniſhing ſaga-city in whatever immediately affect the pre-ſervation

ſervation of their exiſtence: but, this obſervation, which may equally be applied to the inſtinct of ſome animals, prove ſufficiently, that we ought not to confound that ſubtlety which phyſical wants impreſs on the mind of man, with this faculty of combining abſtract ideas, which enables him to go beyond the limits of the moral world, and make that comprehenſible to his mind, which is inviſible to his ſight.

For the reſt, nothing can be more uſeleſs than this ſtudy, where they ſeek after what a people of antiquity might have arrived at, if it had adopted certain laws, and followed certain principles; for if it is no great art to reaſon upon facts, it is yet much leſs an art to reaſon upon poſſibilities.

IV.

Of the public Repaſts of the Lacedemonians.

THE luxury introduced into theſe banquets, ſurpaſſed all that the greateſt exaggeraters of Greece have ever ſaid of the *Sybarites*, of their beds of roſes, of the multitude

titude of their cooks, and of the ſumptuouſneſs of their tables.

Atheneus affirms, that under the reign of King Acrotates, they ſerved up the moſt exquiſite wines, the moſt precious perfumes, and the beſt deſſerts that could be found, at the repaſts in the public halls at Sparta, deſtined for that purpoſe; while the carpets and bed cuſhions, ſtuffed with the ſwan-down of Amyclea, were ſo loaded with embroidery, and riches, that ſtrangers, little accuſtomed to ſuch Aſiatic pomp, were afraid to uſe them, leſt they ſhould do harm to ſuch magnificent furniture*.

Before the conqueſt of Meſſenia, when the Spartans were a poor people, it is natural, that they could not provide ſuch luxuries; but when they had collected together the ſpoils of an hundred ranſomed countries, and as many ſtript bare, like Attica, Elis and Corcyra, their diſſoluteneſs became exceſſive, and they obſerved no medium, except in the exterior appearance of their cloaths; ſomething like the Ariſtocratics of Berne, and the nobles of Venice, who appear in

* Dipnoſoph. Lib. 4. C. 4.

public

public in a dreſs ſo mournful, and ſleep in apartments furniſhed with gold and ſilver ſtuffs.

It was only through pride, ſays Ariſtotle, that the Spartans affect to be ſo ill dreſſed; but this pride even was combined with a certain policy, and every where that the civil government approaches to the form of an obligarchy, the pomp of dreſs is ſeen to diminiſh amongſt the members of the regency, and the interior luxury of the houſes to increaſe. When a few men who dare not openly take the title of kings, who, nevertheleſs, govern a ſubdued country arbitrarily, it is neceſſary, that ſuch people ſhould not conſtantly appear in public with equipages too brilliant, leſt they ſhould offend the ſight of thoſe whom they oppreſs, by conducting them to the laſt extremities of deſpair; and as liberty has its ſecrets, ſo tyranny has alſo.

It is nature herſelf, who has taught people the moſt ſavage and barbarous, that every father of a family ought to govern his houſe, and preſide at table; ſo the repaſts that the Spartans took out of their houſes, were under inſtitutions oppoſed to the primitive cuſtoms, which the common conſent of mankind

kind had eſtabliſhed in the other parts of the world. But, when a nation is conſtrained to ſhock the general order of all ſocieties, that nation finds itſelf in very particularly circumſtances, which oblige it to go aſide from the road pointed out by reaſon. It is in the military exerciſes only, that we can look for the origin of the Lacedemonian public repaſts: this city was as a place of arms, where the citizens, ſpread in the interior of Laconia, were obliged to come to learn the trade of war, under the eyes of the Ephori; ſo that the neceſſity of providing for the ſubſiſtance of ſo many men, whoſe families reſided at a great diſtance from the capital, made them eſtabliſh common tables, kept up at the expence of thoſe who dined there. Some modern authors have found reaſon to think, that theſe repaſts laſted for one month only, in the year*. In effect, this term is ſufficient to paſs the citizens in review, that were aſſembled as an army, and for them to go through all the evolutions appropriated to the Laconic plalanx; for except at the time of exerciſe, they often ſaw but few Spartans at Lacedemon†.

* Meurſius. Miſcellanea Laconica. Lib. 1. P. 46.

† Xenophon affirms, that on the day they diſcovered the

If Plato had better fathomed the ſpirit of theſe inſtitutions, he would never have been aſtoniſhed that the virgins and wives were excluded from theſe banquets, purely military; they never admitted them, for the ſame reaſon that they were not admitted into a camp, or on board a fleet.

For the reſt, all theſe whimſical cuſtoms occaſioned a great derangement in the economical order of the families among the poor, who paid preciſely the ſame ſum as the moſt opulent paid, but that which was for theſe, but an expence ſcarcely felt, was an inſupportable load to the other; and Ariſtole looks upon it as a manifeſt injuſtice that this contribution, which was equal to a tax, ſhould have been ſo unequally divided.*

When a Spartan, either by his own fault, or by unforeſeen accident, fell into ſuch complete indigence, that he could no longer contribute to the military repaſts, he was

the conſpiracy of Cinadon, there were only forty Spartans at Lacedemon; all the others were retired into the country.

* Politique, lib. 2.

from

from that inſtant deprived of his civil dignity, and he ſaw himſelf reduced to the claſs they called *Hypomiones*; that is to ſay, ſubjects abſolutely incapable of filling the magiſtracy.

There were great miſdemeanours in this part of the adminiſtration, as well as in that of the finances, which conſtantly went on increaſing: and they even forced the citizens to furniſh more proviſions than the moſt voracious man could conſume.

The Roman ſoldiers received at moſt but four buſhels of wheat for a months ſubſiſtence, while at Sparta each gueſt was obliged to furniſh nine buſhels of flour, beſides a great quantity of wine, for thirty days.*

When to this profuſion is joined an immoderate luxury, the greater part of the citizens were unable to provide for ſuch an expence, which made the government degenerate into an oligarchy; for the more men that were excluded from the magiſtracy, the more theſe

* Fragment de Dicearque le Laconion cite, par Athenee.

employments

employments were concentrated in a ſmall number of families.

Some philoſophers of old times thought, that in the iſle at Crete, where the public tables were kept up at the expence of the nation, and not of that of the individuals, that the inſtitution had leſs hurtful effects than at Sparta; but in reality they differed only more or leſs; and far from inſpiring any taſte for moderation, and love of frugality, they inſenſibly increaſed debauch and intemperance amongſt the ſoldiery. Xenophon himſelf owns, that when the Spartans had plundered the iſland of Corcyra, the troops became ſo diſſolute, that they would drink perfumed wines only, which was eſteemed the higheſt pitch of luxury of kings.

This exceſs brought on terrible conſequences; and it was an opinion generally ſpread in Greece, that the Spartan Cleombrotus, the commander of his country's army at the battle of Leuctra, had got drunk, with all the general officers who compoſed his council; and, that, in this fit of ebriety, they took the reſolution to go and attack Epaminondas, from whence, their firſt loſs was that of Meſſenia, and, in fine, that of the ſtate.

Of

V.

Of the interior State of the city of Lacedemon.

THE deſcription we have given of Laconia, was purpoſely deſigned to fix the reader's ideas. On this part of Greece in general, and in a picture drawn ſo quickly, there was no ſtopping at particular conſiderations, relative to the ſtate of the capital, where we muſt deſcend to acquire a deep knowledge of the manners and luxury of the inhabitants.

Lacedemon ſeated at the bottom of the long valley watered by the Eurotas, yielded to no city of the Peloponneſus for beauties and agreeableneſs, which nature and art had combined to adorn. The public conductors who carried ſtrangers into this labyrinth of thickets and gardens, talked of nothing but of mythologic events relative to Caſtor and Pollux, Hyacinthus, Leda, and, above all, of Hellen, whoſe name was carved on the barks of moſt of the planes, where theſe words were written in the Doric tongue: "Reverence me

me, for I am Hellen's Tree." Shepherds or idle hunters, had engraved theſe inſcriptions, which theſe Myſtagogues ſhew afterwards as hiſtorical monuments: for the reſt, it was exactly in this place, which they called the Plane Grove, that the poet Alcman, ſo many times raiſed his lyre, to a ſtrain as voluptuous as that of Anacreon; and it is again here, that the Spartan daughters ſo often ſang this famous canticle, that Sappho compoſed at fifteen years of age, which began thus, "O virginity, virginity, whether do you fly, after having quitted me?"

As ſoon as they had paſſed through theſe avenues, ſo romantic and remarkable for ſo many exploits, they arrived at Lacedemon; yet more aſtoniſhed at what they ſaw there, than at what they had heard: for no city of European Greece was ornamented with ſo much Oriental taſte; and the decoration of the public edifices announced an exceſſive profuſion. The principle temple, conſecrated to Minerva, was entirely conſtructed in bronze; that is to ſay, the front, and all the viſible parts, from the top to the baſe of the columns, were quite covered with braſs and ſculptures; and baſs reliefs in form of medallions, repreſenting the labours of Hercules, the miraculous

raculous birth of Minerva, and other ſubjects of this nature, picked from a maſs of fables, which they called Theology.

It was from pure oſtentation of their riches and power, that the Lacedemonians raiſed ſuch a ſort of edifice, which might have been much better executed in ſtone; ſince the intrinſic quality of metal, ſubject to be attacked by ruſt, or corroſion of the moiſt air upon a ſpot often overflown by the Eurotas, added nothing to the value of the exteriour ornaments, except the image of a luxury, which was without example in Greece; where the great artiſts were never tempted to imitate a model, which departed ſo much from the ordinary rules.

To this temple of Minerva, which ſtood in the middle of the city, ſucceeded the great theatre, the conſtruction of which had equally abſorbed prodigious ſums; for Pauſanias affirms, that it was built in all parts of white marble; ſo that by its outward magnificence, it carried it much above the theatre of Athens, cut ſimply out of the rock; but it was much inferior, by the bad choice of farces and low dramas, which they repreſented. There was no ſeeing without regret, a

ſcene

ſcene ſo ſuperb, debaſed by the acting of trifling buffoons.

Amongſt the public buildings, and the tribunals with which the principal ſquare of Lacedemon was ſurrounded, the portico of the Perſians, was diſtinguiſhed above the reſt; where the correctneſs and ſimplicity of the beautiful architecture, had, however, been ſacrificed to the vain ideas of pomp and grandeur: for the entablature did not reſt on columns belonging to a particular order, but was ſupported by coloſſal ſtatues of white marble, repreſenting the principal officers of Xerxes's army, killed or taken at the battle of Platea; ſuch as Mardonius, who appeared in the humiliating poſture of a captive, and cloathed according to the dreſs in uſe amongſt the *Satraps* of Perſia or Medea*.

All that has been objected againſt the bad taſte, and the faulty uſe of the Caryatides, might be applied to their portico; which, at firſt view, ſhocked probability, and even the principles of the art: for in a ſtatue, the neck neceſſarily becomes a member too weak,

* Vitiuve, Architect. Lib. 1. C. 1. Et le Commentaire de Philandre ſur les Caryatides.

with

with reſpect to the burden of the architrave and frize. But, as the architects of this part of the Peloponneſus, were, according to all likelihood, the real inventors of the Caryatides, who took their name from a ſmall town of Laconia, they affected to employ this order, in preference to the others; and they had alſo applied it to the throne of Apollo, at Amyclea, where the graces and hours perſonnified, ſuſtained the heavieſt part of this immenſe group, overcharged with figures and ornaments in bronze; in ſuch ſort, that legerity, which is the firſt attribute of the hours and graces, was here changed into a ſuffering attitude, and a ſtate of exertion, againſt the nature of this kind of ſymbols.

The place the beſt ornamented at Lacedemon, was the Pecile; which was not reduced, like that at Athens, to a ſimple gallery of paintings, but it took in a large ſpace ſurrounded with walls, decorated with ſuperb paintings in Freſco, that the Romans had the aſtoniſhing induſtry to carry away, by inſenſibly ſawing through the cement, by which they ſtuck to the walls; and they arrived in Italy, without damage, from a courſe of operation ſo violent*.

* Plinè, H. N. Lib. 35. C. 14.

It was thus that ſuch inſatiable conquerors deſpoiled Greece of theſe ornaments that it ſeemed impoſſible to be deprived of, which were afterwards buried in ſome palace, in the country near Rome, and loſt to the hiſtory of the arts to ſuch a degree, that the ſubject even of theſe paintings, executed at Lacedemon by foreign artiſts, were not known; for there never appeared in all the extent of Laconia, one painter worthy to be compared to the worſt pupil of the Sicyon ſchool: and in the claſs of ſculptors, there was only one Laconian, of the name of Gitiades, who acquired any reputation; and his maſterpeice was a bronze medallion, repreſenting Amphitrite and Neptune, to which no ſtatue of Sparta could be compared.

As ſoon as the Pecile, was quitted to penetrate the interiour quarters of the city, one met with a ſucceſſion of porticos, deſtined only for the expoſing the different wares of merchandize to ſale; and though Lacedemon was not, properly ſpeaking, a place of commerce, from the incommodious diſtance from the Mediterranean, they, nevertheleſs, ſold there all the plunder that the armies brought at the end of thecampaign: and this

object

object was of the greateſt importance amongſt a people who looked upon pillage as the firſt mode of acquiring. It has been already obſerved, that the natives of Laconia carried on a regular trade, in the iſle of Crete, Africa, and above all in Egypt, where they traficked more at their eaſe than the Athenians; who were received with the greateſt diſtruſt, after they attempted to conquer the Delta as high up as Memphis: this always made them much ſuſpected in all the ports of Egypt; and when this country was under the dominion of the Macedonians, and during Alexander's life even, they began, ſays Demoſthenes, to obſtruct the Athenians in their commerce at the mouth of the Nile;* in ſuch ſort, that they almoſt abandoned this part of Africa, to direct their ſpeculations towards the Crimea, and the Black Sea.

The habitations of individuals, had, at Lacedemon, more ſolidity and elevation, without compariſon, than the houſes of Athens; and from this cauſe the violent earthquake, which overſet Sparta in the year 469 before our era, drew with it ſuch a deſtruction of men. It

* Demoſthene, contre Dionyſiodore, p. 1285.

is

is affirmed, that of all citizens and ſlaves put together, there were not a hundred and fifty who outlived this diſaſter; whilſt more than twenty thouſand, of every age and ſex, were buried under the ruins. If this account is not exaggerated, it furniſhes all the light we can wiſh for, touching the population of this city; of which, the extent, valued at forty-eight ſtadia or two leagues of circumference, upon a plan almoſt circular, was nearer the ſize of Athens than Thucydides ſeems to have thought. The ſhock, which buried the principal city of the Peloponneſus, was produced by the ſudden conflagration of volcanic ſubſtances, heaped together under the baſe of mount Taygetus; from whence it detached itſelf by the violent commotion of prodigious maſſes of rock, under which the habitations were intirely buried. It appears, that the continent of old Greece incloſed two kinds of ſubterranean fires, ſome of which produced exploſions, and conſequently earthquakes, and of which others burned conſtantly, without ever blazing out; like what is obſerved of thoſe hot ſprings, the temperature of which has not varied for a thouſand years: ſo that the action of concentrated volcanos, muſt, in that reſpect, be remarkably uniform;

for

for if the degree of heat had augmented, theſe ſources would have gone into ebullition, and would have finiſhed themſelves by evaporation. If, on the contrary, the fire had been extinguiſhed, theſe hot baths would grow cold: but we know nothing of this kind has happened in places, concerning which we poſſeſs local obſervations, made during a long ſeries of ages. The more we reflect on theſe phenomena, it muſt be confeſſed, that natural philoſophy has not yet acquired very extenſive inſight concerning the interior ſtate of the globe; of which the rotation or diurnal motion, has, perhaps, ſome relation, with the action of the volcanos incloſed.

After this cataſtrophe, the cauſes of which we have explained, the Laconian architects thought proper to rebuild Lacedemon, as in our days they have rebuilt Liſbon; namely, on the ſpot where it had been overturned before. When Thucydides pretends that this city was never inhabited but by diſtricts, this is to be underſtood of the irregularity of the ſtreets, where the ancient tombs ſtanding,

Diodore de Sicile, Lib. 9. C. 23.

obſtructed

obſtructed the ſymmetry and contiguity of the buildings; for of all the European Greeks, the Spartans alone would never part with the ſavage cuſtom of burying the dead in the centre of their capital; where might be counted twenty maſſes of buildings ſtanding by themſelves, and ſubmitted to the police of twenty magiſtrates, that they called internal Harmoſtes, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe they ſent to govern the municipals of Laconia.

Before that, Sparta was incloſed with walls the enemy's armies could with difficulty make their way through; for the courſe of the Eurotas, which is very winding in this part of the Peloponneſus, envelloped the city in ſuch a way, to the north and eaſt, that there was no ſpace to form a regular attack on the ſide of the Hippodrome. They had, moreover, made the entrance of the principal ſtreets ſo narrow, that very few men could march in front: and when the Romans, commanded by Flaminius, were deſirous to paſs theſe narrow paſſages, to get into the centre of Sparta, they made three attacks at once; the beſieged ſet fire to the advanced diſtricts, ſo that the fall of tiles, and

and burning beams, cruſhed the ſoldiers in places ſo extremely cloſe*.

When the barbarian nations began to overwhelm the Roman empire, they principally directed their expeditions towards thoſe countries, where they hoped to find the ſtrongeſt wines. It was that, which, like a compaſs, pointed out their march, and their motions; and, as Laconia poſſeſſed immenſe vineyards, where they made wines ſurpaſſing in ſtrength all thoſe made on the Greek continent, the barbarians fell firſt upon Lacedemon; and Libanius, who wrote in the reigns of Julian and Valens, ſpeaks, at that time, of theſe bacchanalian enterprizes, which have been ſo frequent ſince, that they contributed much to the deſtruction of this city, which, however, in 1464, had ſome conſiderable ruins. The Caryatides of the Perſian portico were then ſtanding, and other great members of architecture; which ſince have been ſo overſet, that one can hardly find any veſtiges of the Hippodrome and theatre, in a place called Paleochori, or the old town; the latitude of which, by aſtronomical obſervation, is, 37 *deg.* 11 *m.* north.

* Tite-Live, Decade. 4 Lib.

The

The Greeks of the Morea, have been long thoroughly perſuaded, that formerly there has been a great quantity of gold buried in the neighbourhood of Lacedemon. This treaſure, according to their notions, ought much to exceed ſome found by chance in a ſubterranean at Athens, under the theatre; which, according to all appearances, had been placed there by the partiſans of Harpalus, who carried off from Alexander of Macedon, twenty ſeven millions of livres, which they were ſlily carrying from Babylon into Attica.

It may poſſibly be, that this idea of making a great fortune, by digging among the ruins of Sparta, has contributed to the deſtruction of the ruins themſelves, ſince the arrival of the Turks in the Peloponneſus. It is, however, true, that the Greek hiſtorians could never diſcover, what in the end was the deſtiny of the gold and ſilver accumulated by the Spartans. They were, indeed, to pay the Romans 400 talents, in the time of the tyrant Nabis; but this contribution did not make the hundredth part of what Nabis himſelf acquired by his continual depredations; and long after his death, there was ſuch an idea of the extreme wealth of Sparta, that Brutus and Caſſius, promiſed to give

give it up to pillage, as a recompence for the valour of their troops, if they came off conquerors at the battle of Philippi: for the Spartans had then declared againſt the liberty of Rome, in favour of Auguſtus and Marc Antony, preciſely as they had before declared againſt the liberty of Sicily, in favour of the tyrant Denys, whom they ſupported with all their power*.

* Appien d' Alexandrie, Hiſt. des Guerres civiles, L. 4.

OF THE

GOVERNMENT

OF

SPARTA.

I.

Of Lycurgus, and the Cuſtom of un-written Laws.

THE greateſt politician of Greece had reaſon to obſerve, that it was an enterprize full of dangers, and indeed an exceſſive raſhneſs on the part of the Cretan magiſtrates, and of the Spartan magiſtrates to govern a people without the uſe of written laws. By that, they became almoſt deſpotic, deciding all diſputes in an arbitrary manner, puniſhing the citizens without obſerving any formality,

mality, and reſembling rather officers who conduct ſoldiers with a ſtick in their hand, than civil magiſtrates. But this ſpirit properly formed the eſſence of a military government; and that of the Spartans was unhappily but too much ſo. Amongſt them the kings and the ephori had an equal intereſt not to employ written law: they preferred a kind of anarchy which favoured their deſigns, to a legiſlation poſitive, which neceſſarily would ſet bounds to two rival powers, which conſtantly tended to deſtroy each other.

It is commonly ſaid, that Lycurgus could write and read; but he was determined, ſay they, not to write his own laws, in order that the people might fix them better in their minds by learning them by heart.*

I dare affirm, that thoſe who hazarded ſuch an aſſertion had not common ſenſe; ſince the people could as well learn by heart theſe pretended laws of Lycurgus, when written, and in the archives of Sparta, as thoſe of Solon were in the citadel of Athens. In order to juſtify one abſurdity, recourſe is had to reaſon-

* Cragius, de la Republique de Lacedemone, lib. 3. p. 169.

ings

ings, yet more abſurd than the inſtitution itſelf; and to this are thoſe reduced, who propoſe parodoxes, or endeavour to defend thoſe of another.

For want of written laws, ſays Cicero, the Spartans governed themſelves by manners, that is to ſay, by cuſtoms and uſuages: for in ſuch a ſtate, the old men, as amongſt ſavages, would acquire a great conſideration and authority; for they often knew an infinity of things which other men could not know, and might be interrogated concerning the antiquity and ſpirit of a cuſtom, and lay down all they had learnt from the mouths of their fathers and grand fathers.

But, in ſpite of this authority of the old men, it was ſometimes ſeen at Sparta, that a magiſtrate appeared in public to ſay, that he had traced back an ancient law, that had eſcaped the memory of the nation; and afterwards they attributed this law to Lycurgus, who was a phantom, under cover of which, the politicians and intriguers played their parts: as they failed of annals, regiſters, and documents, it was impoſſible with exactneſs to recur to the origin of a civil inſtitution. Tradition

dition varied extremely, reſpecting the degree of power lodged in the firſt ephori. The kings ſpoke of all theſe things in one way, and the magiſtrates for their parts in another.*

An author, that the nature of the ſubject obliged to diſcuſs the elements of legiſlation, and diſcover the firſt ſources of Grecian juriſprudence, affirms, that the reſult of his reſearches were, that he found Lycurgus had made no civil law at Lacedemon;† and, as we have proved, that he made no political law, it muſt be concluded, that he limited himſelf to the introduction of the Cretan exerciſes, without knowing how to read or write; for, otherwiſe, he muſt be the moſt whimſical of men to reject the aſſiſtance of writing, which alone can preſerve the remembrance of primitive laws, and protect them from alterations that the voice of every generation and every interpreter would introduce, one while in changing the words, at another time the ſpirit.

* Plutarque, vie de Cleomene.

† Goguet, de l'Origine des Arts, des Sciences, des Loix, tom. 5. p. 83.

One

One hundred and fifty years before the firſt olympiad, the alphabet was very little uſed in Greece: and we may be aſſured, that people ſo barbarous, and ſuch enemies of all kind of improvement, as the Dorians of Laconia were, had then no knowledge of it.

Maximus of Tyre, had reaſon to take notice, that Lacedemon and Crete, were preciſely the two countries of Greece, where the poems of Homer were known but of late date; though they were very commonly ſung in Beotia and Attica*. After that, it is eaſy to conceive the abſurdity of ſuppoſing, that the firſt copy of theſe poems was carried from Aſia into Europe by Lycurgus, who has been confounded with different perſons of the ſame name: and, in attributing to ſome, which could not but belong to others, they firſt embarraſſed the order of chronology, and at length, the order of hiſtory.

We have already, more than once, had occaſion to obſerve, in the courſe of this work, that among the Greeks in general, hiſtorical criticiſm was, of all the ſciences, that, which made

* Maxime de Tye. Diſſertation 23, de l'edition de Londres, 1740.

the

the leaſt ſenſible progreſs; becauſe the philoſophers, and learned men amongſt them, never learned any other language than their own. It has been imagined, that this method, proper in appearance to abridge the courſe of their ſtudies, gave them a decided advantage over the moderns; it is exactly the contrary; for by the help of foreign languages, we have known how to judge of the genius of an infinity of nations; to certify a great number of monuments; and, in the end, deſtroy the vain credulity, and that mythological ſpirit, which were the two great ſcourges of Greece, and of all the Aſiatics, who learnt no other tongue than their own.

Amongſt a people like the Spartans, plunged as we know into profound ignorance purely voluntary, we can by no other means pierce through the veil of antiquity, nor diſtinguiſh the inſtitutions, which a falſe tradition attributed to Lycurgus, from thoſe which were really his work. If, it was he, who who ordered the aſſaſſinations of the Helotes, without any form of proceſs, and, in a manner, truly perfidious, this atrocious thing alone, in his ſanguinary legiſlation, is ſufficient to blaſt his name and memory for ever. It would be yet worſe, if it was he, who

who changed the Lacedemonians into a people of ſoldiers; employed at firſt to make a conqueſt of Meſſenia, and ſucceſſively to plunder all the Grecian ſtates. To deſire that ſuch robbers ſhould, in the midſt of arms, blood and pillage, reſtrain their inclinations, is to unite things, that God himſelf cannot combine: for, if the mind of the wiſe man can ſcarcely contain itſelf in proſperity, how ſhall ſuch wicked men as theſe, be able to make a moderate uſe of victory! I believe, even, that it was much againſt their will, that they ſaw themſelves at length obliged to employ writing, relative to the law of nations, which bind one people to another: when they had concluded a treaty of alliance with Argos, or a treaty of peace with Athens, they cut the articles on pillars, or columns of marble, and every contracting power preſerved a copy. As the Spartans depoſited all theſe monuments in the temple of Apollo, at Amyclea, it was thought, that in digging to a certain depth, it might be poſſible to diſcover ſome inſcriptions of the greateſt importance, reſpecting the hiſtory of Greece. But as theſe reſearches, undertaken at the expence of Louis the 14th, in a place called *Slabo-chori*, were not directed by a notion poſitive enough as to the locality, they dug up

up only a catalogue of the prieſteſſes of Apollo*. This inſcription is not ſo old as it has been thought; for the manner of writing alternatively from left to right, and from right to left, is nothing leſs than a proof of its antiquity; ſince to me it appears certain, that this kind of character, which they commonly called *Bouſtrophédon*, remained much longer in uſe in Arcadia, Meſſenia, and Laconia, than it did at Athens. It is a general notion, that the Spartans were the only Greeks that employed a kind of cypher, for their inſtructions to their generals and embaſſaders; but, we have juſt ſaid, that it was always their great maxim to ſpread an impenetrable cloud over all the ſprings and operations of their policy, which were generally of ſuch a nature, that they could not bear the light. All, ſays Thucydides, that appears beneficial to them, is always eſteemed honeſt in their ſight; and this Machiaveliſm was yet often accompanied with a national pride, which, on the leaſt reſerve, changed to baſeneſs. The Spartans had written ſome letters to Thebes, in a very laconic ſtyle, or, which is

* Mr. Barthelemy a donne une explication des inſcriptions d'Amycles dans le Tome 23, de l'Acad. des Belles lettres.

the ſame thing, very inſolent; but, when they had been completely beaten at Leuctra, they began to lengthen their phraſes. "It was I, ſaid Epaminondas, who taught them that politeneſs"*.

II.

Analyſis of the Lacedemonian Government.

THE Grecian politicians defined the different forms of Government, by terms ſo happily invented, and ſo energic, that we ſee them at this day, ſacredly preſerved in the language of all the people of Europe: but, when it is a queſtion to define the government of Sparta, then the greateſt politicians, ſays Plato, are ſingularly embarraſſed.

In effect, ſuch a definition can neither be made in few words, nor in few ſentences; for ſo complicated a performance, muſt be looked at in different points of view.

* The Greek text ſays, that Epaminondas put an end to the Laconiſm, or Brachyology, of the Spartans.

With

With reſpect to the Helotes, and the ſubdued inhabitants of Meſſenia, this conſtitution was deſpotic, and more abſolute than that of Perſia or Turkey. The Helotes poſſeſſed nothing they could call their own; and we have already obſerved, that, over and above the ſlavery of the glebe, and military ſervice, they might be killed at pleaſure: but this right, which the Poliſh nobility have dared formerly to exerciſe over the peaſants and cultivators, ſuppoſes the moſt frightful deſpotiſm, that the human mind has been able to conceive, in the laſt ſtage of its perverſeneſs.

With reſpect to the tributary inhabitants of Laconia, they had no right of voting in the national aſſemblies, nor any repreſentative in the ſtate deliberations, nor any direct ſhare in the civil government. The conſtitution of Sparta was oligarchic, that is to ſay, a ſmall number there oppreſſed the larger; as the nobles of Venice oppreſs the citizens, and the inhabitants of the continent.

As to the true Lacedemonians of the Doric race, who compoſed the governing nation, their government was an imperfect democracy; enſlaved by two hereditary captains-

tains-general, whom they called kings. What proves that this ſtate was, at the bottom, democratic, is, that the people had the right to give ſanction to the laws, to make war and peace, to create ſenators during life, and to chooſe the five great magiſtrates, which they called the Ephori, who were annual.

Thus, all that which conſtitutes the eſſence of ſovereignty, reſided in the hands of the people; who, to keep the kings in proper bounds, and repreſs their ambition, were obliged to entruſt ſo great a power with the Ephori, that in no republic in the world, did the firſt magiſtrate poſſeſs ſo much authority. This ſyſtem of counterpoizing politics, were the principal defects of this conſtitution; where, to avoid deſpotiſm, they had recourſe to tyranny.

At firſt, the Ephori ſupplied the defect of written laws, by an arbitrary deciſion; and they had the power of life and death, without appeal from their tribunal, to any court of juſtice; in ſuch a way, that their authority was, as Ariſtotle has defined it, *Iſo-tyrannic*, or equal to tyranny. The only thing that the people had refuſed them, is, that in no caſe, they ſhould take the command of armies

armies or fleets; and they were obliged to reſide in Sparta, like the tribunes of the people at Rome, who dared not abſent themſelves.

It is eaſy to underſtand, why ſuch formidable magiſtrates, whoſe ſight only frightened a man, ought not to command armies: for, then they would have become more powerful than the republic itſelf, as no force could be found to repreſs theirs.

The influence of the Spartan ſenate went into decline as that of the ephori increaſed. Beſides, this ſenate, compoſed of old men to the number of twenty eight, the youngeſt of which muſt be ſixty years of age, really wanted vigour and energy; for it is certain, ſays a Greek philoſopher, that in man the mind grows old with the body. To prevent an inconvenience of this kind theſe counſellors ſhould have been annual and not during life; and then there was nothing to fear from their falling into childhood, which often happened.

By degrees they deprived theſe old men of any deciſion in great matters, and left them only the civil cauſes; ſo that they reſembled rather

rather a court of juſtice, than a political department; they are therefore little mentioned in the hiſtory of Greece, whilſt they are conſtantly ſpeaking of the ephori, whom the people choſe annually, and took care to chooſe them from the Plebeian families; for the nobility of Sparta was attached to the court faction, to ſuch a degree, that no confidence could be placed in them.* It appears indeed very probable, that a nobleman could not there be one of the ephori, more than a patrician at Rome, could be one of the tribunes of the people. And this is the reaſon why Cicero pretended that the election of Clodius, who belonged to a Patrician family, was null, and againſt the law; although he had abjured his nobility, in procuring himſelf to be adopted a man of the people, which was purely a civil fiction.*

The two Spartan kings were members of the ſenate by birth, where they had each a vote; but they never dared to enter the tribunal of the ephori, except they had been called upon, and when ſummoned in that

* Ubbo Emmius, de la Republique Lacedemone, p. 315.

* Cicero, pour ſa maiſon, aux Pontifes.

way,

way, they were obliged to obey, otherwiſe a band of guards would have conveyed them from the throne to the priſon: for theſe great magiſtrates had the power of ſending the kings to priſon; and this was what they thought the lance and buckler of liberty. But the event proved, that even theſe arms were not tempered highly enough, to reſiſt the impreſſions of this kind of deſpotiſm, that the greateſt politicians of Greece defined by the following characters: it is, ſay they, "a ſtate where one man only governs the people according to maxims, which are not directed towards the intereſts of the ſubjects, but towards the intereſt of the ſovereign, and the reigning family."†

When the Spartan kings were chargeable with any faults not abſolutely deſerving exile, or death, they were puniſhed by a pecuniary fine: and Thucydides ſays, that king Agis was condemned to pay 100,000 drachmas of ſilver, of the currency of Egis, and to have his houſe raſed to the ground, as in former times they had raſed that of the king Teotychides.‡

† Ariſtotle, Politiques, lib. 3. c. 4. et lib. 4.

‡ Thucydide, lib. 5. et Herodote, lib. 6.

Agis

Agis, by tears, prayers, and promiſes, prevailed ſo far as to calm the people; but it was impoſſible to appeaſe another ſtorm which was ſeen to ſpread over the heads of his ſucceſſors. Theſe princes, in their quality of hereditary captains, had alone the right of commanding armies; and in the middle of a camp they became true ſovereigns, directed the military operations as they liked, gave, or refuſed to give battle, as they thought proper, and led the troops wherever they pleaſed. As Agis appeared to have abuſed theſe eminent prerogatives, the Spartans fixed bounds to them, and ſubmitted the kings to a council of ten commiſſioners, without whoſe conſent they dared not to undertake any thing with the army.

This revolution, which took place in the year 418 before our era, forms a remarkable epoch in the hiſtory of Sparta; and, from that moment, the royal authority went on always diminiſhing; till, that, at length, Cleomenes, in open day, cut the throats of the five ephori, broke their tribunal, annihiliated their name even, and ſubdued the ſtate, as Ceſar enſlaved Rome. But that which Ceſar never undertook, that is to ſay, to get rid of Pompey by poiſon,

poiſon, Cleomenes dared to try, and he poiſoned the laſt king of the younger branch of the Eurypontides; ſo that he who belonged to the elder branch of the Agides, remained the ſole and only maſter and governor in the middle of Sparta.

Such was neceſſarily to be the effect of the dyarchy, or double royalty; and of all this whimſical conſtitution, formed, as has been ſeen, by a concourſe of blind cauſes and political errors, which they at length endeavoured to correct by an equilibrium difficult to find, between the power of the ephori and the kings, who conſtantly preferred the moſt uncertain war to profound peace; for in ſpite of the ſhackles they endeavoured to put on them, they found themſelves infinitely leſs conſtrained in the midſt of an army, than in the capital, where the magiſtrates watched them as tutors watch their pupils. So the ſpirit of this military government was a diſeaſe, of which the ſick themſelves had an intereſt in not being cured.

The Lacedemonian nobility conſiſted, properly, in a body of knights, whom they named *Hippagrétes*, whilſt they deſcribed the

plebeians in general by the term *Cores.*§ Theſe were divided into two claſſes, the laſt of which had only an active voice to create magiſtrates, without being able to arrive at the magiſtracy, and the citizens of this order they called the ſubalterns, whilſt the others took the title of equals, and had an active and paſſive voice to chooſe, or be choſen. But the Ephorat was the higheſt degree they could attain; and as the duration of this power was confined to twelve months, and there was no time to loſe in making a fortune, they ought to take all poſſible advantage of ſuch plenitude of authority, which placed the general direction of the finances in their hands. But we have already obſerved, that this department was frequently in extreme diſorder; the principal cauſe of which originated from the prerogative attached to the dignity of the Ephori, who were not obliged to give account of their adminiſtration to any one, juſt

§ They are called *Corοi* in a fragment of Archytas cited by Stobæus. The Subalterns were excluded the public repaſts and magiſtracy, on account of their acknowledged indigence. Mr. Capperonier has confounded the Hypomiones with the Helotes.

like

like the great magiſtrates at Crete, called the *Coſmes.**

The twenty-eight ſenators of Sparta, who were for life, had no cauſe to haſten ſo much as the ephori; but, in return, they did not give them ſuch ample means to enrich themſelves. The principal ſubtleties they could put in practice related to the tranſactions with their allies; for inſtead of furniſhing their contingent in effective troops, they eaſily obtained permiſſion from the ſenate to pay ſo much money, and then they every day gave half a drachma of Egis, for the pay of every Spartan foot ſoldier, and two drachmas to every horſeman for his daily pay.

It is eaſy to judge from theſe particulars, of the degree of venality that infected all the departments of this ſtate, where they trafficked even with the lives of men: and it was exactly this trade from which they ſhould

* Meurſius et Ubbo Emmius de la Republique des Cretois, p. 67.

† Xenophon, Helleniques, lib. 5. The Spartans gained greatly upon ſuch pay, as they got men cheaper from their own people and the Helotes, for their allies.

have

have abſtained to prevent the frightful progreſs of depopulation, which was every day more and more ſtriking. Formerly, the Doric Spartans, without reckoning the Helotes, could bring nearly ten thouſand warrours into the field; which, under the reign of Agis, were reduced to fifteen hundred individuals: ſince, they were reduced to nothing; and Laconia preſented the picture of a frightful, deſolate country.

The moſt plauſible excuſe, left at this day to thoſe, who with enthuſiaſm preach up this form of government, is, that they did not know it, and had not the means of knowing it: writing at hazard, and judging in the ſame way, they have made books, much the ſame as one makes a dream.

III.

Of the Spartan Colonies.

THE three principal cities, that the ancients looked upon as colonies of Lacedemon, were exactly thoſe, which were the moſt diſtinguiſhed

tinguiſhed by their exceſſive diſſoluteneſs of manners. At firſt, at Tarentum, they celebrated the bacchanalia, in ſuch a way, that, during their drunken fits, they did not know whether they were in Italy or Sicily: then like Pentheus, they thought they ſaw two ſuns, and confounded Mount Veſuvius with Ætna. Next follows Byzantium, where they drank no leſs than at Tarentum. Laſtly, comes Cyrena, the mother of luxury and effeminacy; where philoſophy itſelf was ſo degenerated, that they placed the Cyrenaic ſect, at ſome degrees below epicuriſm.

The origin of the Tarentines, is not obſcure; they were, as we have ſeen, indebted to the incredible debauches of the Lacedemonian virgins, for their exiſtence: afterwards, they embarked for great Greece, which was then like America in our days; and the adventurers, who had no houſe at home, went there to build a city. But, as to Byſantium and Cyrena, one may poſitively affirm againſt the authority of the ancients, that they were not true colonies of Sparta; where the extreme weakneſs of its population, did not allow of ſending out a body of men, conſiderable enough in number, to people a new city.

We

We know, at this day, the exact method that the Spartans took to found the military colony of Heraclea, beyond the Thermopylæ, near the ruins of the ancient Trachis. They got together all the beggars and vagabonds they could find in the Peleponneſus, provided they were of the Doric race; for they abſolutely excluded the Achaians, Ionians, and, conſequently, all Athenians in general. In ſpite of this, the adventurers of this eſtabliſhment, contrived to enroll ten thouſand emigrants, of every age and ſex; amongſt whom, perhaps, they did not reckon forty Spartans. This troop of adventurers, went in the 88th olympiad, about the year 426 before our era, to found, with great noiſe and ſhow, the city of Heraclea*.

This eſtabliſhment was, according to all the rigour of terms, a colony; but not a colony formed of men, natives of the city: ſo that one may be much deceived in looking upon the Heracleans, as a nation iſſuing from the heart of Lacedemon, which, being a military ſtate, employed itſelf in founding military colonies, the moſt unhappy of all thoſe

* Marcien d'Heraclee, Thucydide, lib. 3. et Diodore de Sicile, lib. 12.

that

that imagination, or idea, can preſent to man. I do not believe, that on the globe there has ever exiſted, calamities and diſaſters, comparable to thoſe felt by the Heracleans: and, if one was deſirous of ſaying how often it had been attacked and plundered, it would require a long diſcuſſion. The Spartans, to keep them under the yoke, ſpread torrents of blood, by cutting the throats, without pity, of all the coloniſts, who ſhew the leaſt inclination towards independence; and this was the firſt cauſe that weakened this eſtabliſhment at its birth, and announced the great misfortunes with which it was threatened.

We may in general affirm, that the ancients followed falſe principles, relative to the foundation of colonies; and we know of no ſtate, at this time, that has not made irreparable miſtakes in this reſpect. The Lacedemonians, abſolutely loſt the ten thouſand men they ſent to Heraclea, to ſecure the ſtrait of Thermopylæ; and the Athenians, on their part, loſt the ten thouſand men ſent to Amphipolis, to ſecure the mouth of the river Strymon. Tyre, in conſtructing Carthage, thought to poſſeſs the commerce of Africa; but, it was preciſely Carthage herſelf, that, not

not only deprived her of the African commerce, but of that of Spain alſo. Corinth, had the imprudence to ſuffer itſelf, firſt, to be weakened, and afterwards totally humbled, by the colonies of Syracuſe and Corcyra; which ſucceſſively got into their hands, from the metropolis, the choiceſt and richeſt branches of her trade, in Sicily, in Italy, and all along the coaſts of the Adriatic ſea. The Corinthians, dazzled by the great proſperity, which was by and by to finiſh, thought nothing more eaſy, than to make Corcyra return to its dependance, by open force; for this purpoſe, they undertook a terrible war, at a vaſt expence, and failed at laſt, in all their attacks, in all their attempts, and in all their hopes. Nothing is better known, than the fate of Miletos: with much building of cities, to favour its commerce on the black ſea, ſhe reſembled a mother carried to her grave, by her children. Miletos, was afterwards but a ſhadow; and, without the goodneſs of its herds and its wool, it would have ſcarcely exiſted in the form of a town, after having been the moſt proſperous of any metropolis.

Nothing hurt the Roman republic more, than the colonies it ſent beyond the limits of

of Italy: it was there, according to the expreſſion of a latin author, the moſt deadly of all the enterprizes, that the politicians of that day, are chargeable with. Inſtead of uniting and concentrating the nation in a ſpace determined by nature, they diſperſed them without end; the reſult of which, was a mixed breed, who were Romans by name, and enemies of Rome, becauſe their intereſts were almoſt always in manifeſt oppoſition to thoſe of the capital.

Theſe examples are more than ſufficient to convince ourſelves of the difficulty there is in ſounding the depths of a ſyſtem, ſo vaſt and dark, as that which relates to colonies in general. Amongſt the Greeks, they were of four different ſorts, that is to ſay, military, like Heraclea; commercial, like Syracuſe; huſbandmen, like thoſe placed by the Athenians, in the Thracian Cherſoneſus; and, in fine, the political colonies, founded with no other view, than to eaſe the republic of an exceſs of population, or, to get quit of citizens of little value. Theſe laſt were the moſt happy eſtabliſhments of all; becauſe they had no connection that was oppreſſive, nor any burdenſome dependence on the mother country; which from the inſtant of their

foundation, renounced all kind of empire over the emigrants; neither was Sparta ſeen to have ever endeavoured to arrogate to itſelf a ſhadow of authority over Tarentum, which was a political colony. Such was in general the condition of moſt of the cities founded on the coaſts of great Greece and Aſia-Minor; and, it cannot be doubted, but this was the cauſe that contributed ſo much to make theſe cities flouriſhing. Some in their turns became principal cities, built many new towns, and threw out a hundred branches, like healthy trees planted in a fertile ſoil.

Finally, the obſervation made reſpecting the mixture of men, gleaned from all the valleys of the Peloponneſus to found the city of Heraclea, may be extended to the greater part of the Greek colonies; for amongſt them there exiſted very few who were compoſed of families the iſſue of one and the ſame country, becauſe a crew of vagabonds always joined every emigration; and the only rule we ſhould take care to obſerve, is, that the Dorians and Ionians are never to be confounded as belonging to the ſame colony; for there was ſuch invincible antipathy between theſe two people, that it ſometimes changed

changed to an intolerable want of humanity. It is at leaſt certain, that in the territory of Athens there was a temple, where the prieſts would not ſuffer a man of the Doric race to enter; and there is no doubt but this national hatred had great influence in thoſe continual wars among the European Greeks: but if I was deſirous to ſearch out the cauſes of the averſion, that the Ionians had conceived to the Dorians, I ſhould be drawn away farther than the bounds of my ſubject, to which it is neceſſary to return.

IV.

Of the Political diſſolution of Lacedemon.

NEVER were a poeple ſeen to expire in ſuch terrible convulſions, as thoſe with which the Spartans expired.

At the naval battle fought on the coaſt of Gnidus, they loſt the empire of the ſea, which they had uſurped ten years. At the battle of Leuctra they loſt the conqueſt of Meſſenia, in which all their force conſiſted; they had

had abſolutely none to reſiſt the Macedonian arms when attacked by them. Antipater at once overturned all their troops in the fields of Mantinea, and Antigonus afterwards defeated them yet more terribly, at Sellaſia, in the year 222 before our era. Then the king Cleomenes, who had poiſoned his colleague, aſſaſſinated the ephori, and loſt his army and capital; being without reſources or hopes, left the Grecian country, and ſaved himſelf in Egypt, and the Egyptians finiſhed all by flaying his body like that of a wild beaſt, and fixing it to a gibbet in Alexandria, which was the end of his preſumption and horrible villainies. When the Spartans heard the news of his death, far from revenging his manes, diſgraced by the moſt horrible of cataſtrophes, they put their royalty to ſale, and ſold it to the beſt bidder. Such was the ſpirit of venality in them, ſays Polybius, and the refinement of avarice, that they had the art to make a trade of the greateſt of evils, under the veil of the greateſt good fortune.

An adventurer, named Lycurgus, of whoſe extraction and family nothing is known, bought this pretended monarchy, in paying

to

to each magiſtrate a talent of ſilver, of the currency of Egis, or about 7,500 livres.

This man behaved like a financier, who endeavoured to draw a double of what he had riſked in this hazardous engagement. His reign, though of ſhort duration, was a ſucceſſion of diſagreeable events and political errors. Nevertheleſs, thoſe who had received his money were intereſted in ſupporting him againſt the pretenders who came to diſpute the poſſeſſion of the throne; and amongſt which, above all, was ſeen a child of the name of Ageſipolis, who ſaid he was ſprung from the blood of the ancient kings of Sparta, of the branch of the Heraclides, which we have ſeen finiſhed in the perſon of Cleomenes, hanged in Egypt. Whatever was the rights of this candidate, the faction of Lycurgus drove him from all the places of Laconia, ſo that he was a wanderer the reſt of his life, without houſe or home, like a beggar, and it could not be diſcovered in what part of the world Ageſipolis finiſhed his days.

At the death of Lycurgus, the confuſion and diſorder augmented to that degree, at Sparta, that there was no longer any appearance of legiſlation, or ſhadow of government; ſo

ſo that the ſtate was ſubdued by an uſurper, well known under the name of Machanidas, who engaged himſelf in a uſeleſs and unfortunate war, where he loſt his life, and part of his army.

Then, upon this ſcene of horrors, ſtarted up the tyrant Nabis; the moſt unnatural monſter, and the moſt bloody, that ever appeared in human form. His cruelty far ſurpaſſed that of Phalaris, of Agrigentum, or Denys, of Syracuſe; whoſe names, are, indeed, more famous, but, whoſe crimes were not, in reality, neither ſo determined, nor ſo atrocious. He began his reign, by ſending all the Spartans, of the Doric race, who remained, into exile; and afterwards ſuborned Cretan aſſaſſins, who went and cut the throats of thoſe baniſhed folks, one after another, even to the laſt.

Nabis, having in this manner extinguiſhed this remnant of the nation, and exterminated a great number of the Helotes, he repeopled Sparta, by drawing together, under magnificent promiſes, and, above all, by the hope of pardon, the robbers, ſacrilegious, murderers, and, in ſhort, all the villains of Europe and Aſia; by which, he contrived to get together,

together, a body of 15000 men, eſcaped from the ſword of juſtice; for there was not an individual amongſt them, ſays Polybius, who had not merited the moſt ſevere puniſhment, by his infamous actions*.

Such were the modern Lacedemonians, who formed themſelves into a body, towards the year 202 before our era, which we muſt not confound with the ancient, of whom no veſtige was left on the ſurface of the Earth; and, as we have ſeen, expired, by degrees, in the flames of thoſe wars, they continually lighted up.

As ſoon as Nabis was ſurrounded with ſo many ſatellites, who, to great experience in villany, joined great intrepidity in enterprize, he began to ſet up for a conqueror; invaded a part of Meſſenia, took Argos, and took, moreover, many cities in the iſle of Crete, from which he exacted moſt heavy tributes. Afterwards, he built a fleet of corſair veſſels, which cruized about Cape Malea; which was then called the Golden Cape, becauſe they no where took ſuch prizes as there: and, as Nabis had the iſland of Cytherea in his poſſes-

* Fragment du 13 livre de l'hiſtoire de Polybe de Caſaubon.

ſion,

ſion, it was almoſt impoſſible, that a merchant ſhip on thoſe coaſts, could eſcape him.

There were never ſeen ſuch great robberies committed in Greece, with ſuch conſummate impudence. The city of Lacedemon, then reſembled a cavern, where the freebooters lodged their captures. The wife of Nabis, who carried on a like trade with her huſband, brought there all the trinkets and ornaments, and every thing that had been uſed as dreſs, and cloaths, of which the women of Argos had been plundered, to ſuch a degree, ſays Livy, that perſons of the firſt condition, were reduced to abſolute nudity; and this, within the walls of ancient Argos, which had been one of the moſt ſuperb and opulent cities of the Peloponneſus.

It was in the midſt of theſe depredations, that the Spartan tyrant invented a murdering inſtrument, as terrible as the bull of Phalaris, but much more complicated. It was, according to the deſcription that Polybius has given of it, an automaton, which repreſented the figure of a woman, covered with a rich drapery; and, by means of different hidden ſprings, it ſeized the men, held them cloſely embraced, and finiſhed, by ſtabbing in their breaſts

breaſts ſo many blades of ſharp iron, that they expired in the moſt horrible pains, if they perſiſted in their obſtinacy, of not declaring where they had hid their money.

Thoſe who have doubted of theſe atrocious facts, are, probably, in the ſame caſe with the Sicilian Timeus, who pretended to be well verſed in hiſtorical criticiſm, and who, to give a proof of his ſagacity, took it upon himſelf to deny the exiſtence of the bull of Phalaris, under pretence, that no trace was to be ſeen of it in Sicily; but, afterwards, it was found at Carthage, among other ſpoils carried away from Agrigentum: and the Carthaginians probably employed it, to burn their children alive, in honour of Molock.

As Nabis was very fortunate in his depredations, the court of Macedonia began then to give him publickly the title of king; but the Achaian league, gave him only that of robber: and, as he incommoded all the Mediterranean commerce, without reſpecting veſſels which carried the Roman colours, the Romans, ſays Cicero, who had expreſsly undertaken wars for the protection of ſimple merchants, would not be long expoſed to ſuch outrages; they came to beſiege the ty-

rant of Sparta in his capital, where he was entrenched at the head of a garriſon of 15,000 ſtrong. After many battles and aſſaults, they obliged him, in the end, to accept the articles of capitulation, that the conqueror preſcribed. Firſt they took away all his privateers, with a poſitive prohibition to build any more; they afterwards detached from the Spartan empire all the maritime places ſituated along the coaſts of Laconia, which for a long time had ſighed after independence.

The inhabitants of the cities thus emancipated from the dominion of their ancient metropolis, then took the title of *Eleuthero-Laconians*, or free, the origin of which goes up to the 559 year of Rome, and not to the reign of Auguſtus, as Pauſanias, who knew nothing of the Roman hiſtory, has ſtated the fact.*

This freedom of the municipals was the

* Tite Live, Decad, 4. lib. 4. The Emperor Auguſtus may have confined the independence of the maritime cities of Laconia by new privileges, acquired more than an age beforeby the treaty between the Romans and Nabis.

laſt

laſt political diſſolution of Lacedemon, which ceaſed to be reckoned amongſt the great ſtates of Greece, where it formed no more than a city, whoſe juriſdiction was limited to ſome weak towns.

It is enough to reflect on this courſe of events that we have ſo haſtily paſſed over, to conceive, that ſuch muſt neceſſarily be the dreadful iſſue of a conſtitution purely military, which firſt roſe by conqueſts, plunged afterwards into luxury, and expired in the end in robbery, anarchy, and ſuch forgetfulneſs of all moral principles, that has never been ſeen among the moſt barbarous of the ancient continent, whoſe perverſeneſs and corruption never went ſuch lengths.

As ſoon as the tyrant Nabis had been aſſaſſinated by the robbers of Etolia, the Achaian league ſent a body of the army to Sparta, to purge this infamous city, at leaſt of a part of the villains there collected. Some amongſt them fled then to the maritime places, and it is with their mixture with the Laconian freedmen, that the modern Mainotes are iſſued, of whom much has been ſaid in Europe without ever knowing them.

Con-

V.

Conſiderations upon the Hiſtory and the Manners of the Mainotes.

THIS nation of ſmall numbers, which has during ſeveral ages been ſpread along the weſt coaſt of Laconia, do not deſcend as has been believed from the ancient Spartans, but draws its origin on the contrary from a people, the declared enemy of Sparta, namely, from the Laconians withdrawn from the tyrannic yoke of their metropolis, who treated them as ſlaves, or rather as beaſts.

The chief place, or the capital of the Mainotes of the north, has at all times been the little city of Oetylos, which being a maritime place was amongſt the number of the freed municipals.

As the Greek language is prodigiouſly changed in the mouths of the Mainotes, they have corrupted the name of Oetylos into

into that of Vitulo, where their biſhop formerly reſided, with a troop of Caloyers, of the order of Baſile, who were a banditti as dangerous as the reſt of the nation: they often went themſelves to command on robbing expeditions, and plunder the merchants of Meſſenia, and the Turks of Corow. When a whole week ſlipt away without having made a capture, the inhabitants of Vitulo put on mourning, and complained bitterly of Providence, who ſeemed to have forgotten them.

In this corner of the Peleponneſus, they were not content to carry off all that could be found at land, but they there robbed horribly by ſea; according to the ancient maxims of the ſatellites of Nabis, who had mixed with the Eleuthro-Laconians. In fine, the coaſt of Maina was ſo redoubtable to the navigators, that they dared not touch there, to take in water, during the greateſt diſtreſs of their crews*.

To enter at this time into ſome geographical relations, touching the interior of this ſmall country, inhabited by ſuch great robbers, one muſt imagine a ſhore of five or ſix

* Voyage de la Grece de Webler. T. 1. p. 171.

leagues

leagues extent, on the borders of the Mediterranean, from the foot of Mount Taygetus, to the rocks of Tenarus, which is now called Matapan. This ſoil is naturally dry; and there are only ſome valleys proper for the culture of barley, mulberry trees, ſome evergreen oaks, and olive trees, inferior to thoſe of Attica.

The inhabitants of this coaſt, have a long time ſince been divided into two diſtinct races: thoſe who occupy the north part, in the neighbourhood of the town of Vitulo, have the reputation of being leſs cruel and atrocious, than the Mainotes of the ſouth; which they have been accuſtomed to call *Cacovougnis*, or the villains of the mountain. Expoſed almoſt naked to the heats of the ſun, and to the intemperance of the climate, upon a very elevated ſoil, they are, as we have ſaid, very ſwarthy; and ferociouſneſs appears in every feature of their ſavage phyſiognomy.

It is their cuſtom, at all times to go armed, and to maſſacre, without mercy, thoſe who have been wrecked in the Laconic gulph, and ſwim aſhore at Cape Tenarus: they afterwards let their ſtript bodies lye on this doleful

ful coaſt, without burial; where every object one ſees, inſpires a profound horrour. The habitations there conſiſt of ſorry huts, for the moſt part diſperſed round the ruins of an ancient Laconic city; where the Ottomans ſince conſtructed a fortreſs, they called *Turcogli-Olimionas*, whilſt the modern Greeks, as ignorant in geography as the Turks themſelves, call it Maina; which name is ſince ſpread over all this coaſt, by a ſtrange confuſion of terms*.

In the memoirs relative to the imperial family of Comnenes, of which I ſhould have been ignorant, if Mr. de Croix, ſecretary of the king of France, at Liſle in Flanders, had not been ſo obliging as to communicate them: we find there, that towards the year 1474, an adventurer appeared amongſt the Mainotes, who called himſelf the ſon of David, laſt emperor of Trebiſonde, of the Comnene race. The anonymous perſon, who has digeſted the hiſtory of this fatal dynaſty, has no doubt, but that this adventurer, called Nicephorus, was really what he pretended to be; but, I am convinced, that it is

* Coronelli, Mem. Geogra. de la Morea. p. 99. The poſition of Maina, anſwers to that of the old city of Tenaron.

impoſſible

impoſſible now to aſcertain a fact ſo envelloped in darkneſs, amongſt ſuch a nation as the modern Greeks, who have forged ſo many falſe acts, and falſe legends, that the Caloyers of Mount Athos, could not read the whole of them, in the courſe of a long life*.

However that may be, this Nicephorus, we have mentioned, had the art to engage the biſhop of Vitulo in his intereſt, and to be acknowledged by him as a prince, iſſue of the imperial family of Comnenes. He took, in conſequence of that, the title of *Proto-geronte*, as who ſhould ſay, firſt old man, or firſt ſenator of the Maina coaſt; where his deſcendants reign ſince, almoſt deſpotically. At length, there was not the leaſt appearance of liberty, in this form of government; where the Proto-gerontes on one ſide, and the clergy on the other, oppreſſed a nation, who pretended to be independent.

The ſultans of Conſtantinople, never paid any ſerious attention to this pretended independence of the highlanders of Maina; and in all the great empires of Aſia, are to be found

† Precis hiſtorique, de la maiſon imperiale des Comneſes. p. 83.

hordes

hordes almoſt ſavages, who live on rapine, and obey nobody; as the Bedouin Arabs of Turkey; the Curds and Delomites of Perſia; the Miaoſſes of China; the Bils of the Mogul; the Mardicores of the kingdom of Guzurat; and, in ſhort, of more than fifty races of ſuch like men; of which, ſome, though comprehended in civilized countries, are yet Authropophagi. It has even been pretended, that, 1782, the Zigueners fed on human fleſh, in Hungary, without any knowledge of it, at the court of Vienna. Theſe people, emigrated from a canton of Indoſtan, and ſettled there; where they formed, probably, a tribe of Mardicores, of whom Mr. D'Anville, has much ſpoken in his geographical memoirs of India, without ever being able to diſcover the origin of ſuch a nation. But, there is not, in my opinion, any doubt, but the Mordicores or man-eaters of the kingdom of Guzrurat, deſcended from thoſe ancient Indous, they called Padeans, becauſe they dwell on the banks of the river Pader. They were, according to ſome Greek and latin authors, the moſt terrible of the Authropophagi ever known.

It is very probable, that the Mainotes of Laconia, have alſo in the fits of fanatic fury,

devoured many Mahometans of the Morea; and in general they committed ſo many maſſacres and exceſſes on the confines of Meſſenia and ſo cruelly incommoded the inhabitants of Coron and Modon, that the governors of theſe places came to chaſtiſe them in 1676; but, inſtead of making any reſiſtance againſt the Turks, the Mainotes of the north had the cowardice to leave the country, and ſave to the number of four thouſand men, in ſix great veſſels, ſome of which were loſt before they reached Corfu.

The reſt of this little fleet, after having been the ſport of the winds over all the Mediterranean, at length diſembarked this fugitive people at Paomia in Corſica, where they formed a kind of colony, of which ſome ſenſible marks ſtill remain.*

Amongſt theſe emigrants tranſplanted in Corſica, they reckoned a certain *Stephanopoulo*, as he ſaid *Proto-geronte*, or prince of the Mainotes, afterwards a Parthenius calling himſelf biſhop of Vitulio in Laconia, and, in

* Anecdotes Hiſtoriques de la Colonie Grecque, etabli a Paomia en corſe en 1676. Boſwell auſſi, et Cambiagi, tome 2. p. 287.

ſhort

ſhort a great number of Caloyers, who preſently got into diſputes with the court of Rome, the price of whoſe bulls and briefs they refuſed to pay, as fixed at the datery, which was no credit to the Greeks or Latins.

This deſertion of the chiefs of all the clergy of the north coaſt of Maina, threw the Cacovoughis of the ſouth, into a great conſternation, and they gained the ſummits of thoſe ſharp rocks, formerly called the Thyrides, above Cape Tenarus, as faſt as they could. There they deliberated on their alarming ſituation. It was then decided that thoſe pretended princes, who ſaid they were of the imperial family of Comnenes, having been guilty of high treaſon in abandoning the country inſtead of defending it, the dignity of *Proto-geronte* ſhould be forever ſuppreſſed. They afterwards divided the country into four hereditary captain-ſhips, which for want of male heirs ſhould paſs to the women. Indeed, towards the year 1764, a widow of the name of Demetria, who often headed a troop of robbers, to rob on the highway from Modon to Miſitra; and the knights of Malta, who ſometimes came there to amuſe themſelves

ſelves in Laconia, affirmed, that this heroine, Demetria, made more prizes by land, than they did upon the Mediterranean.

Nevertheleſs, the Mainotes, weakened by the flight of the emigrants retired to Corſica, and plunged in civil wars, cauſed by the creating theſe captainſhips, conceived that ſo precarious a ſituation could not be durable; and they applied to different ſovereigns of Europe to obtain from them, what they called ſuccour againſt the Turks. We have ſeen a copy of a circular letter they wrote at that time; in comparing it with the different acts drawn up in Greek by the Caloyers of Vitulo, it is not poſſible to diſcover the leaſt trace of the Doric dialect, as ſpoken by the Spartans of old.

All theſe petitions were fruitleſs, except that which reached the court at Peterſburgh, who, then at war with the Turks, thought to make ſome advantage of it by ſending a fleet into the gulph of Meſſenia, and there attempt a diverſion which the Mainotes engaged to aſſiſt with all their force; but the Muſcovites had ſoon reaſon to repent having formed connections with the moſt perfidious people in the world, who teſtified it by an action

action truly atrocious, at the taking of Miſitra. This city ſurrendered, as we know, to the Ruſſian arms in 1770, according to a capitulation ſworn to, on both ſides, which inſured the lives of the inhabitants: but, the Mainotes ſaid, that they did not trouble themſelves with ſuch formalities; and, when no ſuch thing was thought of, ſet about cutting the throats of the women and children, that the blood ran in all the houſes, which they pillaged*. After this unheard wickedneſs, they had the cowardice to quit the Ruſſians, whom they had called to their aſſiſtance from the extremity of the north, to the centre of Greece. In one night, all theſe pretended warriors of Maina deſerted, even to the laſt man; which raiſed the ſiege of Coron, and made the expedition fail to ſuch a degree, that they were obliged to quit the Morea with a precipitation, not much unlike a flight. This was the laſt exploit, by which the Cocovongnis or villains of the mountains, finiſhed their career: and the Turks have ſince put them nearly in the ſame ſituation, as the other tributaries of the Sangaciate of Miſitra.

* Voyage pittoreſque de la Greece, part 1. et Precis. hiſt. de Comnenes, p. 13.

To

To ſuch may in reality be reduced all the hiſtories of nations of robbers; to whom we may apply the energetic trait, by which Maximus of Tyre, has deſcribed the genius of the inhabitants of the ancient Etolia: "the Athenians, ſays he, excel in eloquence; the Thebans, in playing on the flute; and, the Etolians, in the art of robbing on the high-ways."

VI.

Concluſion of this Section.

AT length, I finiſh this long courſe of diſcuſſions relative to the Lacedemonians, who have been ſo many ages the object of admiration, and of the prejudiced enthuſiaſm of ſo many writers; but, we have ſeen all theſe illuſions and fables vaniſh to ſuch a degree, as never to be again renewed in the eye of reaſon.

It was the intereſt of humanity to diſſipate thoſe prejudices, which raiſed the barbarous inhabitants of ancient Sparta, to the ſame pitch of glory and illuſtrioufneſs, with the moſt

moſt enlightened ſocieties of Greece, whoſe knowledge and information, have conſtantly been the guides to poſterity; firſt, in the culture of the agreeable arts, and, afterwards, in the ſearch of all the great objects relative to philoſophy and legiſlation; without which, men may exiſt, but, without which, they know not how to be happy or reſpectable.

We have made known the interiour ſtate of Greece, with preciſion enough, that readers, the leaſt attentive, may be able to judge of what would have been the ſtate of this country, if the Lacedemonians had ſucceeded in conquering and ſubduing, and every where ſpreading that thick darkneſs, in which they were themſelves envelloped: then would this point of the earth have been no more a ſource of light to us, but a barbarous region; the revolutions of which would have intereſted us as little, as thoſe of Cappadocia, or of Phrygia. Such conquerors, would not only have ſpread an impenetrable cloud over the horizon of Greece, but, they would have reduced the inhabitants to the ſituation of the miſeries and misfortunes, to which they reduced the Miſenian; who were loſt to the arts and and ſciences, as long as they were enſlaved by the Spartans, whoſe grand max-

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im, was to deſtroy with the utmoſt violence the firmeſt ſupports of civil liberty. And, as ſoon as it invaded a democratic ſtate, it began, by effacing every ſymptom of popular government, to introduce a pernicious and exceſſively oppreſſive obligarchy, like that of the thirty tyrants it impoſed upon Athens, and like that of the ten Harnoſtes, it impoſed upon all the cities, which, for ſome time, were overwhelmed by the torrent of its arms, and the wicked artifices of its policy.

In fine, the greateſt good fortune that ever befel the human mind, is, that the ſtates of Greece, did not ſink under the dominion of Lacedemon, who wanted neither will, nor means, nor ambition, to execute ſuch a conqueſt: but the inherent defects of its conſtitution, waſted it from day to day, that it could not maintain a decided aſcendency upon the continent, for more than twenty-nine years; which, Demoſthenes affirms, was the longeſt term of its ſuperiority. As to the empire of the ſea, which it acquired at the battle of Egos-potamos, by the corruptions of Lyſander, it loſt it afterwards, at the battle of Gnidus: all the efforts it made from that time, were abſolutely uſeleſs;

leſs; for at the time, that by its greateſt perſeverance it began to repair its naval forces, Epaminondas deſtroyed all its land forces. Then it was plunged into the greateſt of misfortunes, and, in ſhort, totally exterminated, by the horrible tyranny of Nabis; which exhibits the moſt frightful picture, in all the hiſtory of expiring Greece.

The Tranſlator cannot take leave of Mr. De Pauw, without acknowledging the greateſt reſpect for his genius and learning, and the ſoundeſt criticiſm, where judgment may be paſſed; and, in things problematical, that his conjectures are generally ſuch, as the moſt enlightened mind only could furniſh. His great knowledge of the natural hiſtory of the human mind, is viſible in every deſcription, from the ſolitary ſavage of the deſert, to the man whoſe actions are regulated, by philoſophy and virtue.

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[Barton, Richard]
Farrago

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